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Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 367
EDITORIALS:
Cleaning Up New York 370
Pan-Europe on Trial 371
A Library Experiment 371
The Triumph of Gandhi 372
SECRETARY WILBUR AND THE CANCER CURE. By Mauritz A. Hallgren 373
THE VANISHING JOB. By H. O. Rogers 375
GOING THROUGH THE RYE. GERMANY'S FOOD TARIFFS. By Herbert Klein 377
POST OFFICE CENSORSHIP AGAIN. By Lawrence Rogin 379
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 380
CORRESPONDENCE 381
BOOKS, ART, MUSIC, DRAMA:
Hour of the Lizard. By Leslie Nelson Jennings 383
Is Folklore Literature? By Carey McWilliams 383
An American Diplomat. By James Truslow Adams 384
Wordsworth's Great Decade. By Mark Van Doren 384
Concerning the Negro. By W. E. B. Du Bois 385
Narrative Poetry. By Granville Hicks 386
Books in Brief 386
Art: After the O'Keeffe Show. By Paul Rosenfeld 388
Music: If the Metropolitan Should Go Musical. By Arthur Mendel 390
Drama: The Limits of Suspense. By Mark Van Doren 391
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE 392
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
Gandhi Counsels His Followers 394

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HOW DO WE JUDGE the value of our colonial possessions? There are doubtless several different ways, and of these President Hoover has given voice to one. After hurried visits to Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands he issued a statement setting forth his observations. Porto Rico he found to have been making "magnificent progress" both in government and in business. Moreover, he learned that the demand for independence had dwindled down to a feeble cry. Hence it was essential that the federal government cooperate with Porto Rico in such matters as education, health, agriculture, "and expansion of industry and markets." Thus is obedient democracy in our colonies to be rewarded, but presumably only when these colonies have industry and markets worth expanding. From this point of view the Virgin Islands find themselves in a rather unhappy position. Said Mr. Hoover: "When we paid $25,000,000 for them, we acquired an effective poorhouse, comprising 90 per cent of the population. The people cannot be self-supporting either in living or government without the discovery of new methods and resources." Clearly, we struck a bad bargain here—particularly when we remember that while Porto Rico was part of the booty of war, we had to pay hard cash for the Virgin Islands. At any rate Mr. Hoover considered it "unfortunate that we ever acquired these islands." He said we must, of course, "do our best to assist the inhabitants," but it was plain from his statement that he was not of a mind to extend to these islands that munificent measure of cooperation he promised Porto Rico. Obviously, there is little that the United States can ever hope to get out of the Virgin Islands, and therefore it is hardly worth our while to shower them with a great deal of attention either in the way of financial cooperation or sympathy.

DANIEL WILLARD delivered a notable address at the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Wharton School of Commerce and Finance of the University of Pennsylvania. Matters which in his youth were held as fixed beyond question, he declared, such as the superiority of our form of government, the authority of religion, and the soundness of the capitalistic system, are now all under criticism, and the process of questioning will certainly result in modification. The capitalistic system Mr. Willard believes to be the best economic scheme yet devised and tested by man; nevertheless he admits that its critics "may be as honest and well-meaning in their intentions as I think I am; even so I believe they are mistaken." This rare tolerance is coupled with a candid admission that a system which makes it possible for 6,000,000 workers to be unemployed has failed in at least one important particular. Of course, the press picked up Mr. Willard's frank statement that if unemployed he would steal rather than starve—a doctrine reminiscent of St. Thomas Aquinas; but it commonly failed to note the revolutionary social implications of such a theory.

THE DROP IN THE NET PROFITS of the Cunard Steamship Company from $4,048,195 in 1929 to $93,005 in 1930 and the fall in the gross earnings of the two great German companies from $27,000,000 in 1929 to $19,000,000 in 1930 are striking indications of the effect of the business depression on world shipping. The annual report of the German lines was especially interesting as embodying the results of the first year's joint operation of the Hamburg-American and North German Lloyd companies. Of course the maximum gains could not be attained in the first year, but certain advantages of the merger are reflected. The heavy loss of income due to the falling off of freight handled by the Hamburg-American lines was offset in some measure by the passenger earnings of the North German Lloyd fleet, notably its new fliers, the Europa and the Bremen. Speed and luxury apparently bring business despite the depression—a fact that helps explain continued new construction. On the other hand, the Cunard line reports a continued increase in the demand for tourist third-cabin accommodations. The sharp reduction in earnings led the Cunard directors to reduce salaries and to pass the ordinary dividend, which had been paid at the rate of 7½ per cent during the past three years. The ability of the German lines to pay a 6 per cent dividend was due partly to the payment during the year by the United States to the North

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German Lloyd Company of nearly $4,000,000 out of the $27,249,000 awarded by the arbitrator for ships confiscated during the war. In view of the success thus far obtained by the German unification, we may yet hear renewed discussion of the possibility of British combinations.

WHEAT IS FRONT-PAGE NEWS these days, even if the price to the American farmer does not represent much more than a month's subscription to a two-cent daily. The Department of Agriculture, after forecasting on March 26 a reduction in spring-wheat acreage of from 12 to 24 per cent according to the kind of grain—a prediction which caused Secretary Hyde to emit an exclamation of delight and declare that the Administration program of a 20 per cent reduction may actually be achieved—had to admit on March 28 that if the winter wheat already planted were allowed for, the reduction would be only about 3 per cent. At Rome, a conference attended by representatives of forty-six nations or colonies has been considering the world wheat situation, and the opposing forces of reduced production and increased consumption are trying to find common ground. Premier Mussolini, who congratulated the conference on meeting "in the calm political atmosphere of the moment," is for increasing consumption, being, apparently, much moved by the number of people in the world who are "poverty-stricken and grievously distressed." The great fight is over the question of preferential tariffs against overseas wheat in favor of wheat grown in the Danubian countries, the Rumanian Minister of Agriculture going so far as to predict that unless the overseas producing countries waive their most-favored-nation privilege, there will be a European union which will effectually exclude overseas wheat from European markets. The union scheme is so logical a corollary of high protection and discriminating tariffs that the United States and Argentina, both of which produce more wheat than they need for themselves, can hardly in decency object if Europe tries a protective device.

FOUR OF THE FRENCH POLITICIANS involved in the Oustric financial scandal of last autumn have been cited for trial before the Senate sitting as a high court of justice. It is doubtful, however, whether the Senate will agree to try the four men—Raoul Péret, former Minister of Justice; René Besnard, former Ambassador to Italy; and Gaston Vidal and Albert Favre, former Undersecretaries of State. The present government of France is adverse to pressing the charges at this time, while the Senate majority has shown itself out of sympathy with the opposition in the latter's efforts to bring the men to trial. Albert Oustric, a banker, had acquired control of several industrial undertakings, and upon these he pyramided a number of holding companies whose financial foundations were anything but secure. He succeeded none the less in getting the shares of these companies listed on the Paris stock exchange. When the pyramid collapsed six months ago it threw all these companies into bankruptcy, brought the conservative and venerable Banque Adam down with it, and came close to precipitating a financial crisis in France. Only the intervention of the government averted a panic. Subsequent inquiry revealed that two of the accused men had at one time been associated with Oustric, and it was charged that they later used their official positions to promote his interests within the government and in the financial community. The other two men were said to have been instrumental in getting the shares of an Italian rayon firm, in which Oustric was heavily interested and which failed soon after the Oustric crash, listed on the Paris exchange, which for years has barred trading in all foreign stocks except those of a few carefully selected companies.

THE LABOR-LIBERAL SCHISM not only continues, but appears to have been aggravated by Mr. Lloyd George's efforts to heal it. The Liberal leader is for what he calls "a policy of cooperation, not frustration," while a respectable minority of the party, led by Sir John Simon, will have no more of cooperation and are for turning out the MacDonald Government at the first opportunity. The seven-point policy which the members were prevailed upon to indorse, calling for greater effort to master unemployment, the promotion of general disarmament, financial economy, an Indian settlement on the lines of the London Round Table Conference, the continuance of free trade, the passage of the electoral-reform bill, and the development of agriculture and land settlement, reads like a counsel of perfection when one remembers that only thirty-three Liberals, or slightly more than half the party membership in the Commons, voted for it. The dissent of Sir John Simon and his followers means that Mr. MacDonald can no longer count certainly upon the forty Liberal votes that he needs to enable him to go on, but if the Liberals really want to put an end to such importance as their party still possesses, a party split is a first-rate way to do it. The Labor Government, meantime, has been granted a further lease of life until April 14, at which time Parliament will reconvene after the Easter holidays.

PRESIDENT VON HINDENBURG has decided, at the request of the Brüning Cabinet, to rule Germany until the Reichstag meets again next October, under an emergency decree that gives him sweeping dictatorial powers. The decree is based upon the so-called "dictatorship clause" in Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution. Under this measure local police authorities have been empowered to suppress public or private mass-meetings, assemblies, parades, demonstrations, speeches, and publications whenever in their opinion any of these threaten public order and safety. One can readily understand, if not directly sympathize with, the motive behind Hindenburg's decree, particularly when one recalls the great number of disturbances, street fights, and political assassinations that lately have attended the economic unrest in Germany. A recent estimate placed the number of deaths due to street fighting and political murders in the past year at more than 300. If it were allowed to continue unchecked, this state of affairs might conceivably lead to open civil warfare. Persons arrested under the decree may, if they feel they have been unjustly dealt with, appeal to the courts for redress. Thus the Hindenburg dictatorship will be considerably qualified. Moreover, the German President's action is directed against the extremists and toward the preservation of government by the moderates, and to this extent differs from the usual European dictatorships. Nevertheless, the assumption by one man of the power to control or suppress constitutional rights of free speech, free press, and free assembly is a dangerous thing. Hindenburg

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will be a strong man indeed if he succeeds in using this new authority without impairing such democratic institutions as now exist in Germany.

CITIZENS OF CHICAGO may vote for Republicans, Democrats, or even Communists at the municipal elections to be held April 7, but they will not be allowed to vote for Socialists or for the candidates of three other minor parties. Interpreting the Illinois election law in their own way, the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners, after a perfunctory hearing, ruled the Socialists off the ticket. The Socialists contended that the law specifically provides for nomination by caucus, but counsel for the board replied that the legislature in passing the law did not mean it that way. They declared that minor-party candidates must also present petitions signed by a prescribed number of voters, and this the Socialist candidates had failed to do. At the moment the leaders of the Socialist Party, which has been legally recognized in Chicago and Illinois for thirty years, are fighting in the courts to have their candidates restored to the ticket. Incidentally, the action of the Election Board for one reason or another got no publicity whatever in the daily press of the country.

IN COMMENTING LAST WEEK on the "mysterious peace" patched up between the outlaw miners in Illinois and the United Mine Workers of America, *The Nation* said it was questionable whether Alexander Howat, who had led the campaign of the Illinois and other miners seeking to reorganize the international union and to oust John L. Lewis from his present dominant position, would "feel encouraged to go on with his fight." Since then Howat has issued a call, signed among others by Powers Hapgood, Frank Keeney, and William Stevenson, for a mine workers' convention to be held in St. Louis on April 15. The call, signed by hundreds of rank-and-file miners, declared that "the most outrageous factor in the whole situation is that the miners who made the Reorganized Movement were never consulted as to whether they desired it to be dissolved, and wished to 'go back to Lewis.' A small group of officials have totally and absolutely dissolved the Reorganized U. M. W. A. . . . without even showing common courtesy to the membership." The letter adds that as a result of the unexpected peace agreement "the miners are overwhelmed with confusion and disgust, and thousands of them have already stopped paying dues to any organization until this situation is cleared up."

FOR DIVERSION read the New York *Times*—preferably the front page. We say this not in jest but in sober earnest; or rather in pious appreciation of life at its dramatic best. Consider the *Times* front page on Saturday, March 28. Among the headlines were: "Elinor Smith Falls Five Miles Unhurt"; "Jewish Merchant to Be Vatican Librarian; Hebrew Scholar Will Have Kosher Kitchen"; "$886,360 Race Prize Won by Buffalo Man"; "Gandhi Triumphant at Indian Congress"; "Finds Mother Love Dies as Manganese Is Lost from Diet." In addition to these there were the usual stories about cleaning up Tammany Hall and finding a new chairman for the Republican National Committee, but we pass from these to the *Times* of a day later—again the front page: "Five Children Perish in Bus in Colorado Snowdrift"; "Bank's Siren Scares Off Midday Bandits"; "S O S Viewed as Hoax or Rum-Runner Ruse"; "Von Hindenburg to Rule; Puts Curb on Civil Rights"; and "Robber's Confession Will Save Innocent Man from Going to Prison for Twenty Years." If this is not drama and romance we miss our guess. And surely this is a fitting answer to those critics of Mr. Ochs's estimable sheet who urge a feature page or a comic section or something else to make the paper more lively and more readable. All the *Times* needs to do, apparently, is to print what happens to people; if it could at the same time get over the bad habit of telling every story three times it would be even more of a blessing to mankind than it now is.

HOPE HAS FINALLY been abandoned for the twenty-six men not yet found after the explosion and burning of the sealer Viking on March 15. The ship was anchored off Newfoundland, several miles off shore and surrounded by slushy ice cakes; the stories of the bewildered survivors agree that the disaster was somehow due to the explosion of powder stored in the after hull; but they were hurled out on the ice without warning and those who were alive could only stand by helplessly and watch the ship blaze up and sink. Irony is contributed to the story by the tragic death of Varick Frissell and A. E. Penrod of New York, who were on board with their cameras to take scenes for "White Thunder," Mr. Frissell's talking picture of the sealing industry. They were anxious for dramatic shots, vivid pictures of the dangerous life of the seal catcher. They themselves were part of the drama—but the pictures will never be shown. Hope for young Frissell—himself a splendid Viking type and a youth of great industry and eagerness—was held out long because of the rescue of three of his companions who were picked up by a rescue ship as they floated on an ice floe. But careful search has brought no sight or news of the missing.

ARNOLD BENNETT, who died in London on March 27 at the age of sixty-three, was novelist, critic, journalist, man of affairs. He was born a comparatively poor boy in the Five Towns district of England which he later made famous; and he was furiously motivated by the double desire not to be idle and not to be poor. The result, as Horatio Alger would have predicted, was that he died both famous and rich, richer than any living author, probably, unless it is Mr. Shaw, and assured of a high place in English letters. He was a prolific author, noting in his diary for the last day of December, 1899, that he had in the year just ended written 335,340 words, or nearly 1,000 a day. His career was a blinding contradiction of the theory that it is necessary to have leisure to "write." For Mr. Bennett was, at the same time that he was writing so many novels, stories, and articles, also editor of a woman's magazine and a constant reviewer of contemporary literature. His industry brought him a suite in one of the grand hotels he always admired, a yacht, all the comforts he could buy—and it brought the world "The Old Wives' Tale" and the four novels of the "Clayhanger" series, which are hardly surpassed by any English novel of the nineteenth or twentieth centuries. It is the greatest pity that when he was hardly past middle life and still writing steadily, Arnold Bennett should have had to depart from the literary scene.

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Cleaning Up New York

WE cannot share the indifference with which some sophisticated observers profess to view present attempts to clean up the government of New York City. It is true that corruption and inefficiency in New York are nothing new; nor is New York's position in that respect unique. The conditions that in recent weeks have been brought forcibly to public attention have existed with brief interruptions for generations, and the New York situation can be duplicated in essentials in almost every other important American city. Municipal government in the United States today is scarcely less a failure than it was when James Bryce called attention to the shame of our cities more than forty years ago. The same forces are at work today that were at work then, and they are producing the same results. It is just these facts that give something more than local and temporary interest to the present struggle in New York.

As is always the case, local, State, and national politics are all inextricably intertwined in the situation. The rapacious appetite of the district leaders of Tammany, to an extent curbed during the years of Alfred E. Smith's dominance, has been given free rein once more in these later days of Curry-McCooey-Walker control. Public thievery has been widespread, and local political and municipal leadership has been utterly irresponsible. A Republican legislature and a Democratic governor, the latter betraying in every move his eagerness to attain a yet higher office, have played against each other, and as there has been no effective threat of interference from Albany, the local organizations have had their way pretty much unchecked. The people of New York have been indifferent and cynical; not only have they failed hitherto to make any real protest against the present misgovernment, but in the election less than a year and a half ago they gave it overwhelming approval.

The present uprising has grown out of a series of revelations culminating in the exposure of shocking conditions in the courts and among the police. Charges against District Attorney Crain were lodged by the City Club with the Governor, who under the law has entire power to remove that official on charges. Within twenty-four hours, after a conference with Mr. Crain and John F. Curry, leader of Tammany, Governor Roosevelt appointed Justice Samuel Seabury to investigate the charges. Ten days later the City Affairs Committee presented to the Governor similar charges against Mayor Walker, asking for his removal under powers vested in the governor by the city charter. As the Walker charges were aimed at the center of the Tammany administration of the city, the Governor faced a difficult political problem. Instead of acting immediately, as in the Crain case, he held the charges for some days and then sent them to the Mayor in California, asking him to reply promptly on his return to the city, but giving no indication of his own intended course. Giving the Governor full credit for good intentions, how is his differing treatment of the two cases to be explained on other than political grounds? It is not unfriendly critics alone who are pointing out that his undoubted concern for good government in New York City has not operated in entire isolation from his own ambitions.

Herein lies one of the dangers of that summary power of removing the mayor of New York City, as well as certain county officers throughout the State, which is vested in the governor of New York. The governor's power to remove without appeal local elective officials responsible to a local electorate is a doubtful power at best, violating the principle of home rule. Very possibly it would be better to let the local community—in this case the city—stew in its own juice if it chooses to elect and support an inefficient or corrupt official, but that aside, such a power, as is indicated in New York today, is likely to be complicated even in the case of a conscientious governor by his political prospects. The tenure of office of District Attorney Crain and of Mayor Walker certainly ought not to depend in any way on the Presidential ambitions of Governor Roosevelt.

In the present case the legislature has changed the whole situation by passing a resolution for a sweeping investigation of the entire government of New York, with the understanding that Justice Seabury is to act as counsel to the legislative investigating committee. The Governor has announced that such action will not affect his consideration of the charges already lodged with him against Mayor Walker, but nevertheless he may ultimately find it advisable to turn over to the legislative committee the investigation of such charges. In any case, it is imperative that the Mayor's place in the scheme of organized corruption that constitutes Tammany government in New York today be made clear, and we trust that the legislative investigation will be specially searching in all that concerns the City Hall and the man who has played so prominent a part in bringing the present government into contempt. If the Governor, faced with the responsibility that is actually imposed on him by the charter, should decline to act on the Walker charges as he has already acted on the Crain charges, he must make it perfectly clear that the ground of his refusal lies in actual differences between the two cases or else in the possibility of new and better action opened to him by the initiation of the legislative inquiry. He cannot evade responsibility.

It is not a question simply of turning a few rascals out. The important thing is to make clear to everyone the actual meaning of present-day Tammany rule. For in New York, as in every other city, corruption flourishes because of the ignorance and indifference of the body of the people themselves. The people of New York today are getting just exactly what they deserve, for they reelected James J. Walker mayor by a half-million plurality on the basis of four years' experience of the very kind of government they are now enjoying, and it is far from certain that the popularity of that government has ended even today. But it is also a fair question whether that popularity could survive a genuine public understanding of the methods and meaning of the present system. It is a system of organized public plunder for the benefit of favored business groups and their political agents. While that system continues, there is nothing for it but to wage eternal war on it by turning the light constantly on its operations.

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Pan-Europe on Trial

BY their decision to set up a customs union which later would be expanded to embrace other European states wishing to join, Germany and Austria have issued a challenge to the rest of the Continent that will have far-reaching consequences. Whether their action leads to a period of strained international relations such as Europe has not seen since the World War or proves to be the necessary first step toward the creation of an economically united Europe appears to depend very largely on the attitude of France and her satellites. If France continues hostile, there is every likelihood that the new customs union will either be smothered a-borning or will bind the two German nations into a joint defiance of the rest of Europe, whatever the results of that defiance might be. If France, on the other hand, should modify her position and agree to the customs union in so far as her own economic and domestic interests are not encroached upon, her action might very well prove the beginning of genuine European cooperation.

The significance of the Berlin-Vienna move may be better understood in the light of recent European developments. Even to politicians it has become more and more evident in the last ten years that Europe must cooperate, if not unite, in order to maintain its position in the increasingly intensified world economic struggle. Two years ago the growing strength of this opinion prompted Foreign Minister Briand to launch his campaign for the organization of a United States of Europe. The Pan-Europe plan was to be based first upon economic cooperation, and was intended later to bring about some sort of political confederation. The movement also took other forms, as was indicated by the series of conferences held in the Balkans and Eastern Europe during the summer and autumn of 1930, all of which were convened with a view to increased cooperation among the agrarian states of those regions. Lastly, there have been efforts made under the auspices of the League of Nations to deal cooperatively with various special economic problems, one of these being the tariff truce that now has admittedly collapsed. Thus far none of these moves has produced anything concrete in the way of international cooperation, and this failure, though it may be only temporary, has come at a time when Europe is in the depths of a depression that has more clearly than ever before shown the need of such cooperation.

Briand can, of course, attack the projected German-Austrian customs union on political grounds, but whether he is wise in so doing is another question. There is no good reason to suppose from their published statements that Chancellor Brüning and Foreign Minister Schober are insincere in declaring the proposed union wholly economic in character. Europe may recall that a somewhat similar customs federation preceded the formation of the German Empire in 1871, but the political situation today is very different from that of two generations ago. Then France was relatively a weak country, and the German states were not defeated and disarmed but had just come through two successful wars, and in uniting had established themselves as one of the strongest political units on the Continent. No rational observer believes that a union of disarmed Germany and dismembered Austria could be much of a threat to any other group of Powers in Europe today. By shifting the emphasis from the economic to the political aspects of the proposed customs union, however, Briand might indeed force Germany and Austria as a matter of political defense into the arms of other dissatisfied Powers, including Russia, and then he would have created that opposition bloc of states which France and the Little Entente so greatly fear.

Nor can France question the union on economic grounds. This would suggest that there were other motives behind Briand's Pan-Europe scheme than the commonly accepted one of an unselfish desire on the part of France to help Europe on the way to economic stability and sanity; for what Germany and Austria have started out to do in their small way is precisely what Briand proposed to do on a Continent-wide scale. Lastly, Western Europe must realize before it is too late that the European economic structure cannot remain healthy and sound unless the heart of the Continent—Central Europe—is also healthy and sound. It would behoove M. Briand and his colleagues to examine the projected customs union in this light rather than to spend their time casting suspicion upon the motives of Germany and Austria. Surely if these two so closely related Powers are not to be permitted to work together in peace, there cannot be much real hope of getting all the other nations, with their marked racial and cultural differences, to unite in any Pan-European scheme.

A Library Experiment

THOSE persons with comfortably filled bookshelves of their own, or those to whom the public library around the corner is a source of profit and satisfaction, rarely give a thought to many hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of others in the United States who have literally no acquaintance or contact with books. In 1925 the Carnegie Corporation offered $50,000 to the League of Library Commissions to see how much could be done with a comparatively small sum in a libraryless community. After considerable cogitation, Louisiana was chosen as the field of experiment. And for five years Louisiana has been in process of being exposed to books.

The rate of literacy in Louisiana is low. It is not surprising that library facilities are correspondingly meager. The preliminary survey undertaken by the group chosen to make the experiment showed that except in New Orleans and Baton Rouge there were but three free public libraries in the State; that no city in the State outside New Orleans could boast a bookstore; that in New Orleans there were possibly five librarians with either a summer course or longer training; and that in the State at large only one State institutional library had a librarian with a year's training.

This, then, was at least a field that wanted working. Whether or not it was fertile, time would show. After five years of work, the Library Commission is enthusiastically convinced that it is. The total sum of money expended was $92,000, $17,000 of which was given by the State. Three parish or county libraries were established and are flourishing, partly supported by local funds; half a dozen others are

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projected. A traveling library covered many hundreds of miles and reached thousands of people. Illiteracy courses for adults drew 109,000 applicants, who were supplied with a special list of books that they learned to read. Everywhere response to the work was eager, spontaneous, numerically amazing. One woman who at first protested her hatred of books was won over when she discovered that all books were not about gasoline engines—the reading matter of her garage-mechanic husband. A little boy who professed a passion for books although he could barely read or write was found to cherish an ambition to be the letter-writer for his completely illiterate family. The third year of the experiment was the terrible flood year of 1927. It was difficult to talk about books to a man whose fields were under water; yet even with these setbacks the work went steadily on. More persons asking for loans; more sums obtainable from local public funds. The people wanted books—not belles-lettres, not modern fiction or poetry, to be sure. Books about accounting, floriculture, finance, interior decoration, public speaking, workers' education, tick eradication, broom manufacture, Louisiana history. But still unmistakably books. Among the Negroes the response was as gratifying as among the whites.

We submit that this book adventure is one of the most interesting educational experiments we have heard of lately. There seems to be no question that the work so generously stimulated will go on. We offer congratulations all around: to the Carnegie Corporation for furnishing the funds; to the citizens of Louisiana who so ably spent them; to the other citizens who for the first time fell into the way of reading or thinking about books. For them the world is widening; once it starts to widen, who can say where it will stop?

The Triumph of Gandhi

GANDHI has won even the left wing of his party to his truce with Lord Irwin as a basis for future negotiations. As a result, Gandhi will attend the second round-table conference as chief representative of the Congress Party. This is excellent news. It is particularly gratifying in the face of most recent events in India. The execution of Bhagat Singh and two other Indians for the murder, in 1928, of a British police officer, and the consequent attacks by the young radicals on Gandhi, who apparently did not feel justified in interceding in behalf of the three men, seemed likely for a time to upset the good work of Gandhi and Lord Irwin. It is to the great credit of the working committee which drew up the Congress resolutions that its members by a bold and intelligent stroke turned what was certainly a tactical blunder on the part of the government into a convincing argument against violence of any sort—against the original violence of Bhagat Singh and the final violence of the king's executioners.

The resolutions with which the Congress delegation faces the round-table conference are at once far-reaching and conciliatory. The most important is the first, which ratifies the Gandhi-Irwin truce and authorizes Congress participation in the conference. It declares that complete independence as the Congress goal remains intact, but that Congress delegates "will be free to accept such adjustments [i. e., safeguards] as may be demonstrably necessary in the interests of India." The resolution is, in fact, a carte blanche issued to Mahatma Gandhi and his fellow-delegates. What he will be able to achieve in London remains to be seen. That he will achieve more than any other Indian could is obvious. As for Britain, it is to be hoped that Tory and Laborite alike will read very carefully a speech made by Lord Irwin recently at New Delhi, which runs in part as follows:

> There are those who see in the present stirring of thought in India merely a movement engineered by a negligible minority which ought never to have been allowed to attain its present importance because much of it is frankly seditious and could readily have been suppressed by a firm government. . . . That diagnosis I believe to be superficial and distorted and wholly divorced from reality. Nobody will deny that there is sedition. It is also true that the numbers who are politically minded are a fractional minority of the whole, but these things are not the whole or most important part of the picture. . . .
>
> Great Britain will delude herself if she does not recognize that beneath all distinctions of community, class, and social circumstances, there is a growing intellectual consciousness, or more truly self-consciousness, which is very closely akin to what we generally term nationalism.

This would seem to indicate the "change of heart" Gandhi has so often asked for. Assured of that change of heart, Gandhi will submit even to safeguards, though it is certain that the safeguards projected at the first round-table conference will have to be greatly modified to win his approval; just as it is also certain that he will stand firm against granting to the princes and to the landlords the power they would have if the recommendations of the Sankey report were strictly followed.

The test in London, however, will be preceded by another test at home. The recent riots at Cawnpore point up tragically the importance of the Hindu-Moslem problem which Gandhi has pledged himself to solve. He has said truly that it would be a humiliation if India, demanding independence, were forced at the same time to ask Great Britain to settle such a purely internal question. Despite these communal riots, however, and in view of what has happened within the past few weeks, it seems certain that India is moving steadily toward self-government. That this recent progress represents a personal triumph for Gandhi cannot be denied. The triumph reached its climax at Karachi, where Gandhi, in a speech lasting an hour, so stated his position that Subhas Chandra Bose, leader of the Youth League, immediately afterward announced his allegiance to Gandhi and the truce, and where 50,000 delegates, a day later, demonstrated how complete and secure his leadership has become. But this personal triumph is the least significant aspect of the meeting at Karachi. It is much more significant that India, even despite communal difficulties, is at present united as it has never been before; it is united, moreover, behind a man whose power is no greater than his integrity and whose most sacred principle is his belief in non-violence. If one-sixth of the world's population succeeds in achieving self-government without resort to violence, force as a technique may be recognized for the obsolete futility it has in fact become.

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Secretary Wilbur and the Cancer Cure

By MAURITZ A. HALLGREN

SOME months ago the American medical profession was aroused by the announcement that a cancer cure, or at least an improved method of cancer treatment, had been discovered by two San Francisco surgeons, Dr. Walter B. Coffey, chief surgeon for the Southern Pacific Railway, and Dr. John D. Humber. The genuineness of the discovery was indicated by the grant to Drs. Coffey and Humber of a patent, Number 1,771,976, covering the invention of a "therapeutic substance and method of preparing the same." The inventors established a clinic in California. Several hundred cancer sufferers, more than could be handled, applied for treatment.

Meanwhile, the medical profession as a whole reserved its judgment as to the value of the discovery. Cancer experts and other research students throughout the country likewise withheld their indorsement. Eager to welcome any definite and authentic advance in the fight against cancer, but at the same time alert to guard unfortunate cancer victims against exploitation by inventors or discoverers of alleged cures and treatments of unproved worth, these scientific authorities turned to the task of investigating the Coffey-Humber "cure." Today they have reached the virtually unanimous agreement that the Coffey-Humber discovery is neither novel nor effective. Conservative experts have rejected the evidence put forward by the two California surgeons as invalid or unscientific, and have announced that they are still awaiting acceptable proof that the treatment can cure or check cancerous growths. Other authorities have declared that the Coffey-Humber method actually is embarrassing the real fight against cancer, while still others have publicly denounced the Coffey-Humber patent and the claims upon which it was based as "preposterous" and "astounding." Nowhere, except perhaps in the case of the California Medical Association, has the new treatment been accepted as a genuine or valuable contribution to the campaign against cancer. It was an examiner in the United States Patent Office who first exposed the weakness of the Coffey-Humber claims, and he did so in devastating fashion. In the Patent Office records may be found an eleven-page document wherein this examiner, F. M. Hopkins, refuted, point by point, the various claims of the two surgeons. Upon the strength of his findings he refused to approve the granting of a patent. Farther down in the records one may find that notwithstanding this masterly report on the extremely dubious worth of the Coffey-Humber discovery, a patent was afterwards issued. When an amended application was submitted a month or two later it was handled, not by Examiner Hopkins, but by a new examiner, P. M. Nash by name, who somehow or other found himself able to recommend a patent within less than twenty-four hours after the new application had been received. Most significant among the items on record, however, is one showing that Ray Lyman Wilbur, Doctor of Medicine, President of Leland Stanford University, and Secretary of the Interior, acted as official sponsor for the inventors of this new method of cancer treatment. In a letter addressed to the Commissioner of Patents (which is printed on the next page) Dr. Wilbur stands revealed as having thrown the full weight of his official position behind the petition for a patent.

Byrnes, Townsend, and Potter, leading Washington patent attorneys, represented Drs. Coffey and Humber. The original application prepared by this firm was received by Division 43 of the Patent Office on March 19, 1930, and was referred to Examiner Hopkins for action. It began with a declaration that "our invention relates to a therapeutic substance having the property of stabilizing tissue growth and which by virtue of this property is capable of controlling and/or destroying carcinoma, sarcoma, and other malignancies, and to a method of preparing the same." Carcinoma and sarcoma are, of course, technical names for cancer, and the statement that the substance mentioned will control "and/or destroy" such malignancies can only mean that the discoverers were claiming for their invention the property of curing cancer. All medical authorities the present writer has consulted are in agreement on this point notwithstanding that the two surgeons have denied that their treatment is a "cure" as commonly understood. No documentary or other proof that the reaction does take place as described, or that the injection of the therapeutic substance referred to has any permanent effect upon cancerous growths, was offered in the original application.

On April 29 the patent lawyers received the Hopkins report rejecting the application in toto. Mr. Hopkins cited twenty-six published books or papers, the work of prominent authorities on the cancer problem, which had anticipated all the various major phases of the Coffey-Humber method. Moreover, he called attention to the existence of six prior patents covering many, if not all, of the points involved in the Coffey-Humber invention. Lastly, he declared the claims rejected "for lack of utility, as there appears to be no convincing basis for the allegations set forth in the specification that applicants' preparation stabilizes tissue growth, controls and destroys carcinoma, sarcoma, and other malignancies." In other words, the extract Drs. Coffey and Humber were seeking to have patented did not accomplish its avowed purpose, that of curing or checking cancer.

Following personal conversations with officials of the Patent Office, the lawyers submitted an amended application, which was received by Division 43 on July 1, and referred to Examiner Nash. The new specifications challenged some of the citations included in the Hopkins report, and made certain changes in the phrasing of statements in the original application, but apparently set forth no fundamental change in the method of preparing the extract in question. However, there were appended to the new application the affidavits of nine persons, purporting to establish the utility of the process and product, and also the case history of one of these persons, Roy W. Buick. The record of the Buick case showed that a sarcoma had been removed by surgery and that thereafter the patient was given regular doses of the Coffey-Humber extracts. The record further showed that the cancer did not return, but it failed to make clear whether

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the surgical operation or the extract was responsible. An affidavit submitted by the two surgeons likewise was appended. This document consisted of the replies of 672 anonymous patients to questions addressed to them during treatment for cancer. The replies revealed that in 71.5 per cent of the cases the Coffey-Humber extract had "greatly or entirely relieved pain"; that in 88.9 per cent of the cases general improvement had been noted without regard to pain; and that in 10.9 per cent there was either no improvement or doubt as to improvement. No information of what other treatment was given, whether surgical or by radium, no indications as to the diagnostic method or results, and no clinical indications whatever were contained in this affidavit. In short, there was nothing to show that the Coffey-Humber treatment was responsible for the improvement noted. Nevertheless, with this additional information—it can hardly be called proof—Examiner Nash was able to decide within a few hours that the Coffey-Humber substance and method were patentable.

Completing the record, there is Secretary Wilbur's letter, which runs, in full, as follows:

April 5, 1930

MY DEAR MR. COMMISSIONER:

Because of the interest of this department in medical and health matters through the administration of St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Howard University, Freedmen's Hospital, and our medical and health work among the Indians of this country and the Alaska natives, I wish to express my extreme interest in the application for patent filed by Drs. W. R. Coffey and John D. Humber on March 12, 1930, on their treatment for cancer. Their treatment is also of widespread public interest.

I should be glad if you could make their application special under Rule 63 of the Rules of Practice in the United States Patent Office, so that consideration of their application may be expedited and that they may receive the benefit of the protection afforded by a patent at the earliest possible moment that they are successful in prosecuting their claim before your office.

I designate Mr. E. C. Finney, solicitor of this department, to represent me before the Commissioner in order to prevent the improper issuance of a patent.

[Signed] RAY LYMAN WILBUR

The record, therefore, is clear that Secretary Wilbur officially interceded on behalf of Drs. Coffey and Humber in their efforts to obtain the approval of the Patent Office for their invention.

But what, one may ask, is the verdict of the known cancer experts and the medical profession in general with respect to the merits of the new method of cancer treatment? All but one of the medical associations that have expressed themselves have questioned the value of the Coffey-Humber treatment, the California Medical Association being the only organization of its kind that has indorsed this method—and even its indorsement is highly qualified. On November 1, 1930, the *Journal of the American Medical Association* said of the Coffey-Humber method that it "is in no sense of the word a 'cure' and even its efficiency in treatment is exceedingly doubtful. . . . In the period of six months during which the treatment has been used, 13.5 per cent of the patients have died, about as many as would have died without the treatment." The *Journal* also questioned the validity of the proofs offered by Drs. Coffey and Humber, saying that "the evidence might be better controlled." Less reserved was the resolution adopted by the New York Academy of Medicine last January. This statement in part said:

> The announcement in California that they [Drs. Coffey and Humber] would treat cancer led to much suffering. Many hopelessly sick persons spent much or all of their money to get to the clinic of Drs. Coffey and Humber, and yet were not much benefited by the treatment. In fact, many died in a short time. In addition, people abandoned treatments which are known to be beneficial, such as X-ray, radium, or surgery, which they were taking under the care of their own physicians. This is in accordance with the well-known fact that a cancer patient will grasp at any straw, and will often go to any expense or trouble in order to obtain some hoped-for benefit.

In another place the same resolution said:

> Some thousands of patients were treated in California during the past two years, but no claims have been made by Drs. Coffey and Humber that any of these patients were really cured. The only claim which has been made was to the effect that certain patients had less pain and that occasionally ulcerating surfaces cleared up, and in some instances healed.

Numerous other physicians and societies could be quoted in the same way. So much for the general profession. The cancer experts have been far more outspoken in their criticism of the Coffey-Humber discovery. Dr. Francis Carter Wood, editor of the *American Journal of Cancer*, official organ of the American Association for Cancer Research and of the American Society for Control of Cancer, and himself head of the Institute for Cancer Research at Columbia University, declared that he was "unalterably opposed to experimentation on human beings as planned by Drs. Coffey and Humber," and further that these men "have not given any proof that they have a 'potent' extract." (In the patent the substance these men claim to have invented is described as "a potent extract.") Dr. Ellice McDonald, Director of Cancer Research at the University of Pennsylvania Graduate School of Medicine, has written:

> Dr. Coffey has repeatedly stated in the public press that he and Dr. Humber make no claim for a cure, yet in the United States patent Number 1,771,976, signed by Walter B. Coffey and John D. Humber, there is the following opening statement: "Our invention relates to a therapeutic substance having the property of stabilizing tissue growth and which by virtue of this property is capable of controlling and/or destroying carcinoma, sarcoma, and other malignancies." Obviously these two statements are contradictory.
>
> This patent claims that the Coffey-Humber extract is an adrenal-cortex extract, stabilizing growth, and that it controls or destroys cancer. These claims may be easily proved untrue . . . time unfortunately is telling us that it is not "capable of controlling and/or destroying carcinoma, sarcoma, and other malignancies." How such a patent was ever allowed by the United States Patent Office is a matter of astonishment. It is a very dangerous precedent, if such casual, pseudo-scientific, unproved claims to so-called cancer cures are allowed by the Patent Office. . . . How any medical man could advise the Coffey-Humber treatment after reading this patent staggers my imagination.

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Dr. John M. Rehfisch, radiologist and assistant professor of clinical medicine at Stanford University (of which Dr. Wilbur is president in absentia and Herbert Hoover a trustee), suggests that Dr. McDonald look up the record in the case, saying he would find that in April, 1930, the Patent Office

> . . . had refused to grant the patent in a masterly report on Coffey's preposterous claims, which were annihilated one by one by a patent examiner who dealt with them in a truly scientific fashion. He will also see (and it may surprise and shock him as it did me) that Ray Lyman Wilbur wrote the Patent Office requesting specially expeditious handling of the matter on account of his responsibility for the medical care of the American Indian and the Alaskan Eskimos. His next interesting discovery will be that Dr. Coffey's claims were resubmitted, July 1, 1930, and the patent granted on July 2—an example of speed and efficiency which is a true tribute to the Great Engineer and his strong, silent way of getting things done.

That Dr. Rehfisch would thus dare to court dismissal from the faculty of Stanford University gives some indication of the feeling of the cancer and medical experts toward the Coffey-Humber invention. A layman might be excused on the grounds of ignorance for intercession upon behalf of this widely repudiated method of cancer treatment. But Secretary Wilbur is a doctor of medicine (Cooper Medical College, San Francisco, 1899); he was for seven years professor of medicine at Stanford University, and for five of these years dean of its Medical College; he is a member and former president of the California Academy of Medicine; he is chairman of the medical council of the United States Veterans' Bureau; he is a member and former president of the American Association of Medical Colleges; he is a former president of the American Medical Association and at present chairman of its council on medical education and hospitals; he is a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation; and, lastly, he is a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Surely a man of Secretary Wilbur's high standing in the medical profession can hardly afford to identify himself with a questionable cancer cure, let alone act as official sponsor for the inventors of that specific.

The Vanishing Job

By H. O. ROGERS

UNDOUBTEDLY one of the most significant industrial developments of the post-war decade has been the marked reduction in the number of workers engaged in the so-called "basic" industries. In mining, manufactures, rail transportation, and agriculture there has been an absolute and outright loss in the number of persons gainfully employed. The shrinkage in the demand for farm labor and the drift cityward have, of course, long been evident. But as far as American experience is concerned, it is an entirely new development in the other major branches of industry, and involves problems of the utmost importance.

Particularly striking has been the decline in the number of wage-earners employed in manufacturing industry. Prior to 1920 year after year witnessed a sharp rise in the demand for factory labor. Although for the most part the increase in factory employment has lagged somewhat behind the growth in the physical volume of production, during certain years of rapid industrial expansion the increase in the average number of wage-earners not only kept pace with advancing output but even exceeded it. Thus, between 1909 and 1914 both the index of physical production and the average number of factory workers showed an increase of 16.4 per cent, while between 1914 and 1919 the number of wage-earners increased even more rapidly than the volume of production. The upward movement in the demand for factory labor that had characterized the pre-war years came to an abrupt end in 1920. Since then the trend has been unmistakably downward.

This sudden shift has been due primarily to the world-wide process of industrial readjustment that has lately been labeled by Continental economists as rationalization. In this country, as elsewhere, rationalization has meant, simply, reduced production costs. Various methods have been adopted to accomplish this end, but in the United States it has been achieved principally by reducing the quantity of labor required per unit of product. The success of this movement in manufacturing may be judged from statistics recently released by the Bureau of the Census.

The census figures show that in 1929 there were 8,742,761 wage-earners engaged in manufacturing industry. In comparison with 1919, this is a *net* reduction of 296,410 workers. But every close observer of industrial trends is aware that the output of fabricated products mounted steadily during the intervening period, culminating in the high-water mark of 1929. Just how great the increase has been is a matter of considerable speculation, but probably the best measurement at hand is the index constructed by E. E. Day and Woodlief Thomas, covering the period 1899-1925, and carried forward through 1929 by the Federal Reserve Board. If this is accepted as a trustworthy indicator of the growth, then the volume of output increased nearly 45 per cent between 1919 and 1929. Thus, in 1929, with a labor force reduced by 3.2 per cent, nearly half again as large a quantity of manufactured goods was produced as ten years before.

Another factor to be kept clearly in mind in considering the census figures is that, in spite of the collapse of Hoover prosperity in late October, the year 1929 marked the peak of the post-war prosperity era. With industry moving at high speed, factory managers were inclined to be much less economical with respect to labor than in times of stringency. The figures for 1929, therefore, show employment in the most favorable light. In years of ordinary industrial activity, to say nothing of years of acute depression such as 1930, one would find the working force at much lower levels.

By far the most spectacular reduction in man power has occurred in the transportation-equipment industry. This is a group of violent contrasts. It includes, on the one hand,

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industries such as automobile and aircraft manufacture, which have shown phenomenal expansion, and, on the other, industries such as shipbuilding and wagon- and carriage-making, which have declined almost to the vanishing-point. As far as employment is concerned, the gains in the automotive field have failed to offset the losses sustained by other branches and the industry group as a whole shows a decrease of 285,000 workers since 1919.

Other industry groups that show a decline in employment since 1919 are the leather, rubber, and chemical industries, the railroad repair shops, and the group manufacturing miscellaneous products not elsewhere classified. Of these, the greatest reduction is reported by the railroad repair shops, where employment fell off 23 per cent as compared with 1919.

The next largest decline occurred in the miscellaneous group, which shows a reduction of 19 per cent in the number of employees. This item is particularly surprising because in this group are included such products as phonographs, photographic equipment and supplies (including motion pictures), cigarettes and cigars, soda-water apparatus, sporting and athletic goods, musical instruments, and many other so-called luxury goods, whose sales have been sky-rocketing in recent years. That the chemical industry reports a decline of 17 per cent in employment in spite of the enormous increase in the use of rayon and nearly all other chemical products is due chiefly to the prohibition amendment, which has thrown out of work large numbers who were formerly employed in the production of distilled, fermented, and vinous liquors. Substantial reductions in the number of wage-earners are also shown by the leather and rubber industries. In the leather industry the decline is largely explained by the severe depression in the boot and shoe industry, but the rubber industry has been booming along with the automotive industry, and its reduced pay rolls represent almost exclusively technological advances in replacing hand labor with mechanical methods of production. In all, about 320,000 workers have been displaced in these industries—a reduction which, when added to the number released in the transportation-equipment industry, brings the total to 605,000.

The losses in these branches of manufacturing, however, were partly offset by increases elsewhere. In the printing and publishing industries, thanks to the public's voracious appetite for literature in the form of tabloids and confession magazines and also to the prolific typewriters of our current crop of popular novelists, some 84,000 new jobs have been created during the last ten years. Closely related to the gain in the publishing business has been the concomitant increase in the number of wage-earners employed by manufacturers of paper and paper products. In this industry employment has increased from 208,518 workers in 1919 to 225,820 in 1929.

Employment has also increased in industries manufacturing what is known as producers' goods, that is, materials to be used for further production. The manufacturing groups producing such materials fall under the following census classifications: iron and steel and their products, not including machinery; products of petroleum and coal; machinery, not including transportation equipment; non-ferrous metals and their products. Each of these groups shows substantial increases in the number of wage-earners employed. But the expansion of these industries goes a long way toward explaining the decline in employment in other branches, as their products are the materials used in the process of mechanization. Moreover, employment in these industries increased at a much more moderate pace than the growth in the physical volume of output, and the four groups combined added only 131,000 workers to their pay rolls.

Small gains in employment have been registered in the food, textile, and lumber industries also. Of these the largest is shown by the manufacturers of textiles, whose pay rolls have been increased by 2.4 per cent during the past decade. This increase has taken place in spite of the serious depression that has prevailed in the textile industry throughout most of the period. It may be partly explained, however, by the migration of the industry toward sources of cheap labor supply. In the manufacture of food and kindred products employment has increased slightly less than 1 per cent, while in the depressed lumber industry employment has barely held its own.

To summarize, the manufacturing industries reporting an increase in employment have absorbed about 305,000 new workers, but this falls considerably short of balancing the 605,000 workers displaced in other branches of manufacturing. Thus, for manufacturing industry as a whole the total firing rate has been approximately double the total hiring rate. Meanwhile, the working population of the country has been increasing at the rate of almost a million a year.

The optimistic school of economists have been inclined to discount the importance of this displacement and have held that the "newer" industries that have recently made their appearance have not only been able to absorb the workers that have been discharged by the factories, mines, and railroads but have also been able to provide employment for a large part of the increase in the population of working ages. Dr. E. Dana Durand, statistical assistant to the Secretary of Commerce and former director of the United States Bureau of the Census, in his "American Industry and Commerce," just from the press, makes the following statement:

> The major explanation of the decline in workers in factories is simply that the United States, first among nations to reach that position, has now become so efficient in the production of goods that it can afford to cut down the number who make them for the sake of increasing the number who render incorporeal services.

Again in the same opus a little farther on:

> It is obvious, however, that save for the short-lived depression that followed the immediate post-war boom, the cutting down of the numbers in agriculture, manufactures, and transportation during recent years cannot have resulted in any widespread lack of employment. The best evidence is the fact that the steadily swelling volume of output of commodities has, after all, found a market, and the great bulk of it a market within the country itself. A man out of a job is not a good buyer.

It is, of course, true that large numbers have been absorbed in the domestic and personal-service industries, such as hotels, restaurants, beauty parlors, and roadside "hot-dog" stands. There has likewise been a tremendous increase in sales forces and professional workers to provide for the needs of the mounting population, but just how many workers the service industries have absorbed nobody knows. The fact that unemployment is with us now and was with us also even back in the halcyon days of the prosperity epoch seems

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to indicate conclusively that the absorptive capacity of the service industries is definitely limited, and the demand for labor in the existing body of industries is likely to decline still farther in proportion to the population in the future. To deny the existence of the unemployment problem simply because goods are being produced and sold in increasing volume and because the man without a job makes a poor customer presents a process of faulty reasoning that even the statistical assistant to the Secretary of Commerce might be expected to detect. Even if it were merely a problem of transfer from production to service industries, as Dr. Durand suggests, the process has resulted in considerable friction that calls for intelligent action. For this reason the complete census returns on employment in other major branches of industry in 1929 are anxiously awaited in order to determine just what has taken place during the past decade.

Going Through the Rye

Germany's Food Tariffs

By HERBERT KLEIN

Berlin, March 12

THE choice between low foodstuff prices, in a time when they are needed as never before, and preferential protection for the benefit of habitually pampered interests disguised as needy German agriculture may well become a Waterloo for the Brüning Government. The situation at the moment of writing is a serious one; it is crucial in the sense that it supplies a touchstone to test the contention of extreme left elements that the present regime is basically reactionary in its aims, and also to determine whether the Social Democratic Party has turned its back completely on the principles which once distinguished it.

From the same Reichstag rostrum from which Chancellor Brüning had not long before announced his intention of securing reduced prices for all necessities of life, Minister of Agriculture and Foodstuffs Schiele made his eagerly awaited speech outlining the government's proposed "tariff dictatorship" and other measures on the program of agricultural relief that he and the Cabinet as a whole had threshed out and were prepared to push through the Reichstag. That speech may properly be connected with the sittings of the Reichstag commission which is undertaking to investigate the causes and circumstances of the collapse of the *Roggenpreis Stützungsaktion* (measure for maintaining prices for rye) last September. And it is thereby linked with the habitually distressed state of German agriculture —an agriculture almost unbelievably inefficient, backward, and disorganized and—and with the almost equally habitual attempts to relieve the distress by patching up the tottering, out-dated old system and making life easier for the big landowners, the Junkers, who still wield an influence out of all proportion to their numbers or their needs. These attempts have been made at the general expense through (1) desperately high tariffs on food products produced in Germany; (2) loans, subventions, and tax reductions designed to reduce farmer indebtedness; and (3) price maintenance—or "stabilization"—by direct purchases on the market, along the lines of the recent activity of the American Farm Board in wheat and cotton. The Roggenpreis action was of this last category; the current investigation has shown that between the middle of last summer and a few days after the Reichstag elections of September 14, $5,000,000 was lost. The scheme, born of the active mind of Herr Fritz Baade, prominent agricultural theorist and member of the Social Democratic Party, and godfathered by Minister Schiele, may be said to have been still born. Herr Baade lays all the blame on Russian dumping of rye. The pity of it all is that the money which was lost would have served agriculture and the nation so much better if it had been used in assisting one-crop, grain-growing farmers to change over to the so-called "Greenland plan" (dairying with blooded stock, egg production with pedigreed fowl, and diversified vegetable production), which is rightly being hailed in progressive quarters as the one logical "way out" for the farmers.

The other two methods of propping German agriculture have been carried on at a cost to a hungering people which makes the $5,000,000 seem paltry. With practically five million unemployed, plus their dependents, in the country, it is the bitter truth that at least one person out of every four has less to eat than he requires — because he hasn't enough money to pay for more. At such a time a metric ton (2,205 pounds) of wheat costs in the neighborhood of $73 in Germany, while the same amount could be purchased in Holland or England for $27.50! The tariff here is $62.50 per ton. In spite of the fact that Germany is one of the few nations raising more rye than it can normally consume—the others are Poland and Russia—a metric ton of that grain costs $45 in Berlin; the tariff amounts to $37.50. Rye can be bought, delivered, in a Scandinavian port for $16 to $17. Germany's industrial competitors can feed their people much more cheaply than can Germany. The result of the tariff policy has been, as Dr. Baade is compelled to admit in his book "Deutsche Roggenpolitik," that "Germany must pay double or even treble as much for bread as some of her neighbor nations." Small wonder when rye and oats are the only grains whose production exceeds needs. Every man, woman, and child in the land who still has enough pfennigs to buy bread is paying a subvention to the farmers who sell bread-making grains, a tribute from the great majority of the population for the benefit of a minority class. Tariffs have boosted food prices—or anchored them, which has the same result in a time of sinking world prices—so that a sum far greater than the annual reparations tribute is extorted from the masses. Between eight hundred million and a billion of dollars is one estimate that seems to check with statistics.

Who gets the benefit of this? To answer, one must examine the ownership of agricultural land in Germany. There are, roughly, 64,000,000 acres of productive land in

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the Reich (approximately one acre for each German citizen) and some 5,000,000 farms. More than three-quarters of these are of 12½-acre size or smaller; about a fifth are between 12½ and 50 acres; 4 per cent of all farms are of 50 to 450 acres; and a mere one-tenth of 1 per cent are larger than 450 acres. More than 46 per cent of the total cultivated area is in the hands of the last two classes of owners. These, numbering just 4.1 per cent of all the farmers in Germany, are the big landowners. The other 95.9 per cent of the farmers divide the remaining land between them. More than that, the three-quarters of all farmers who have the smallest farms have well under one-fifth of the total acreage to call their own. More than nineteen out of every twenty farmers who live from the soil have so little land that it is out of the question for them to raise grain in sufficient quantities to bring it to the market. What little they have is fed to their cattle, pigs, or poultry—or is consumed by themselves. Actually, a great many of the small farmers have to buy grain over and above what they raise to keep their animals alive, just as they have to buy bread.

Keeping in mind the distribution of land, let us examine the other kind of agricultural aid, namely, direct subvention. More than $650,000,000 of public money has been poured into this seemingly bottomless hole since the end of the inflation period. It would be quite safe to say that the most impoverished and needy nine-tenths of the farm population have never got the benefit of a tenth of it, and they would do no better in the case of the new $213,750,000 "East-help" bill which Schiele and the present administration of the state of Prussia are working for. In 1927 $15,000,000 "East help" was voted for exactly similar purposes in Prussia. Only a tenth of this money found its way to farms of 45 acres or less, while estates of 450 to 1,250 acres got almost a third, and a good 15 per cent went to "ranches" of still greater expanse. Such is the summary of 577 cases. There is not the slightest reason for assuming that the benefits of the new subventions and long-term, interest-free credits would be differently divided—unless legislation were specially shaped to that end. Moreover, while this money, extracted painfully from almost-depleted treasuries, is finding its way safely to the hands of Count von This, Prince That, and other Junker landowners to enable them to perpetuate inefficient agricultural practice on an almost feudal basis, the neediest class of all, the agricultural worker-slaves of East Prussia, Silesia, and adjacent regions, continue to get wages of between one and one-quarter and five cents an hour, if indeed they find work at all.

How the Junkers maintain their favored position is another subject. But it will not be entirely incomprehensible to those Americans who know something of how their government has learned to nurse its perpetually "infant" industries by means of a tariff from which there is no retreat. The Junkers, through the million-membered Reichslandbund which they dominate, and the money which they (not the peasants!) are able to lay out, have a terrific political influence. Their hold in Prussia and in the nation did not end with the war. Their habits are unchanged. George Ihering, a young German journalist, once delved into old files and emerged with typical quotations for every year of the last quarter-century in which big landowners or their representatives announced the imminent ruin of the entire system of German agriculture unless something were done for it at once. That something has never been enough. The Junkers, unlike Oliver Twist, do not even say "Please, sir" when asking for more; they demand it, and at the present time they are greatly dissatisfied with Schiele, former president of the Reichslandbund and thoroughgoing Junker, because he has not yet managed to secure enough.

This might seem ungrateful, were it taken with utter seriousness, because Schiele has gone the whole way in his new measures and demands nothing less than an unchecked dictatorship by the Cabinet as a whole over all food tariffs for at least a year to come. Nor does he seem to quail before the consequences which would almost certainly ensue from his plan to raise rates on eggs, dairy products, fruits, meats, wheat, barley, and other products which Germany imports to the value of more than three-quarters of a billion dollars annually, even in these times of reduced consumption. Those foods which were named specifically in the preceding sentence account for more than half this total; they are just the ones on which the greatest tariff increases would fall. Germany is a consumer nation. Industrialized and densely populated, she is obliged to import an important percentage of all her foodstuffs. A rational change to "Greenland" agriculture, following in the sensible footsteps of Holland, whose climate and soil are no better than Germany's, would eventually make possible a Germany which would supply itself with all the eggs, beef, butter, cheese, and milk consumed, in place of a Germany which has an excess of rye and oats almost every year and deficiencies in other products. Such a rational change would of course require technical and credit aid from government, but in order to merit the term "rational" it ought not to be produced by the method of high protective tariffs. Tariffs such as Schiele seeks to empower the Cabinet to impose would, unchecked, raise food prices in Germany cruelly. They would, moreover, do tremendous, perhaps irreparable, damage to Germany's export trade and commercial relations with neighboring nations, and very probably further increase unemployment.

It is all quite simple and inevitable. Denmark, Sweden, and Norway between them purchase three-quarters of a million dollars' worth of German machinery each year—fully a quarter of a million dollars more than the value of the butter and meat they send to Germany. (Incidentally, this butter and meat are of better quality than farms in the Reich yet produce, because the Scandinavians have intelligently rationalized their dairying and cattle-raising through exclusive use of blooded stock, scientifically fed. The Teutons have not yet done this, any more than they have learned, as Holland has learned, that the right sort of hen with the right sort of feeding will lay 130 good eggs a year, instead of the scant 75 nondescripts which the average hen lays in the Reich—precisely the difference between profitable poultrying and haphazard, hit-or-miss hen-keeping.) If the three Scandinavian countries are hit by the proposed Schiele tariffs they will answer with retaliatory tariffs on German manufactures, which is almost certain to mean another few hundred thousand men attempting to exist on the fifteen-odd dollars a month which unemployment insurance yields. It is no secret that the nations which have been exporting foodstuffs to Germany and, in return, have been buying German machinery and manufactured goods are ready with retaliatory tariff measures which would strike sharp blows at German industry. Among these nations are

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Holland, Latvia, Finland, and Italy, in addition to the three already named. The Polish government has suspended all action toward ratifying the recently framed commercial treaty with Germany, waiting to see what is going to happen. Spain, as well as Italy, would be seriously affected by the government monopoly of southern fruits which Schiele would like to introduce, even at the cost of having to abrogate the existing commercial treaty with Italy. So the situation stands. Small wonder that the Reich's industrialists have been protesting so bitterly against the proposed moves.

But the most sinister note in the entire situation—sinister because it suggests an utter blindness to facts coupled with a willingness to sacrifice human beings for purely vindictive ends—is the suggestion which comes from circles very close to both Schiele and Finance Minister Dietrich (himself a former Minister of Agriculture and Foodstuffs) that the real aim of the Cabinet-controlled tariffs would be so to develop German agriculture that it could become a weapon for forcing cancelation of reparations demands. The idea is that if the growth of agriculture in Germany can be forced, that country will become so poor a customer for the food products of foreign nations that the exporters of those nations will turn to their governments with the despairing plea that German markets be somehow opened to them again, even though reparations have to go by the board. A fantastic idea, surely, and one which seems as short-sighted as it is unlikely of success. It is an unhealthy growth from the unhealthy soil of an unhealthy farm situation.

With the Hitlerite delegates out of the Reichstag and agitating in all corners of the republic, the Social Democrats plus the Communists have a majority. The Communists hate the very sight of Schiele; they call him "Hunger Minister" and "Underfeeding Minister" and heckle him unmercifully, and they will vote and filibuster against his every proposal. Everything depends on the Social Democrats, for the parties of the center are on the whole back of Schiele. The more radical Social Democrats have already protested against the Schiele program, which they find neither social nor democratic. Can the party which is responsible for unemployment insurance and the other social legislation of Germany bring itself to support negations of its principles, even to avoid the change of government which might result were the Cabinet to decide that it would not brook defeat on that issue? It remains to be seen.

Post Office Censorship Again

By LAWRENCE ROGIN

POLITICAL censorship of the press has received much attention in the United States ever since the Federalist government, trying by every possible means to keep power, passed the Alien and Sedition Acts. While Congressional interference with the freedom of the press would seem to be prevented by the First Amendment to the Constitution, Congress has in fact established a political censorship through its power over the mails.

Congress, under its power to establish post offices and post roads, has done two things that seriously affect the press. First of all, it has classified the mails and provided for lower rates, in class two, for regularly published periodicals, such rates being only one-seventh to one-fifteenth the ordinary rates for printed matter. The rates are said to be about one-seventh of the cost of carrying. Furthermore, Congress has made certain classes of matter unmailable, including lotteries, obscene matter, contraceptive information, and, what is most important, anything inciting sedition or treason. The hysteria accompanying the late war was responsible for the inclusion of the last-named.

The responsibility for carrying out the provisions of the law is delegated to the Postmaster General. And the courts have so interpreted the law as to give the Postmaster General a good deal of discretion in his administrative rulings and have decided that his decisions shall not be reversed unless they are clearly wrong. As a result, an extensive power of censorship has been placed in the hands of the Post Office Department. This censorship operates in two ways: (1) The Post Office can refuse to admit to the mails any issue of a publication it deems objectionable; (2) it can revoke the second-class mailing privileges of any publication on the ground that that publication has previously printed objectionable material and may do so again in the future. The courts upheld both methods in *Masses vs.* Patten and in the case of the Milwaukee *Leader*.

The first extensive use of Post Office censorship occurred during the World War. According to figures prepared by Roger Baldwin for the "American Labor Year Book," twenty-six newspapers had their second-class mailing privileges revoked, including the New York *Call* and the Milwaukee *Leader*, two Socialist and labor dailies with comparatively large circulations; sixteen papers had one or more issues held; four papers were entirely barred from the mails; seven were cited by the Post Office Department for revocation of the second-class mailing privilege; and seventeen other papers were interfered with in some manner or other.

These persecutions can be understood if not forgiven on the ground of war hysteria. In the past year, however, the persecution of the radical press has been started again, in a manner not so spectacular, perhaps, but quite as thorough. During this period at least five publications have either had their second-class mailing privilege revoked or have been refused it altogether, and one paper can mail only those issues which are specifically approved. These publications are *Revolutionary Age*, weekly organ of an opposition Communist group; the *Young Worker*, organ of the Young Workers League, a Communist youth organization; the *Young Pioneer*, organ of the Young Pioneers, also Communist; *Sport and Play*, organ of the Labor Sports Union of America; and *Vida Obrera*, a Spanish Communist weekly. A brief history of two of the cases will show just how the postal censorship operates.

Revolutionary Age was established in November, 1929, by a group which split off from the official Communist Party. The paper applied for second-class mailing privileges, and provisional rights were given until the case should be decided.

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Some months after issue number six had been published the Post Office notified the publishers that second-class rights would be denied because that issue had contained seditious material and had been non-mailable, although the publishers claim that the issue had gone through the mails. At any rate, that very issue was republished as part of issue number seventeen, dated July 15, 1930, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to send it through the mails. Thereupon the publishers went to court, with the aid of the American Civil Liberties Union. The case was tried before Judge Wolsey of the Southern New York District. He did what precedent required and upheld the Post Office, on the ground that he could not reverse the department unless it was clearly wrong, and in this case he could not find it wrong. At present the case is on appeal.

In the meantime the paper was being mailed as third-class matter, at a much higher rate, but issues of it were being held up regularly for examination by the Post Office before being sent out. In its issue of February 21 of this year the paper protested against this treatment by the Post Office. This issue was held up almost a week and finally declared unmailable, and the publishers were notified that in the future the paper would be admitted to the mails only after the solicitor of the Post Office at Washington had approved of the contents of each issue. The paper is a national weekly published in New York City and at least 75 per cent of its circulation goes through the mails. The additional cost entailed by the postal censorship could not be estimated.

The case of the *Young Worker* is somewhat different. The paper has had second-class mailing rights ever since its establishment some eight years ago. On March 3, 1930, its office of publication was moved from New York City to Worcester, Massachusetts. A transfer of mailing rights was asked for. The paper had moved several times before and had had no trouble in transferring its second-class rights. This time, however, the paper was notified that its second-class mailing rights had been revoked because of objectionable matter in its issues of May 1, May 19, and June 2, 1930. The Post Office did not specify just what was wrong with those issues of the paper and up to date neither the publishers nor their counsel have been able to find out. They are represented by the American Civil Liberties Union and the International Labor Defense. The *Young Worker* is a national weekly published, now, in New York. About 80 per cent of its circulation goes through the mails. The paper has requested a hearing in its attempt to regain its second-class rights.

Unquestionably, the Post Office has been within its legal rights in all its acts, with the possible exception that it should have notified the *Young Worker* in what particulars it was violating the law. In other words, the faults of postal censorship as it now exists are not due to any perversion of the law by the Post Office, but rather to the law itself, as interpreted by the Supreme Court. The remedy for the situation lies in the repeal by Congress of Section 344 of the criminal code of the United States, that section which ostensibly prohibits the sending of treasonable and seditious matter through the mails.

Political censorship of any sort in a democracy is an anomaly. To vest the power of such censorship in one official whose decisions, for all practical purposes, are final, is to introduce autocracy in extreme form. Obviously, the Postmaster General can make or break the radical press. Through the power to refuse second-class mailing privileges the Post Office can so raise the cost of publication as to make it impossible for a paper to continue its existence, and it must be remembered that the type of paper most often affected by the censorship is not the paper published for profit, but rather propagandist organs which are usually supported by donations from those who have but little to contribute.

The further power of the Post Office to bar the paper from the mails entirely is a more serious evil. The judicial mind may satisfy itself with such phrases as those uttered by Judge Wolsey in his decision in respect to the *Revolutionary Age*, that ". . . the freedom of the press is not interfered with except by the suppression of a newspaper before publication," but anyone with an open mind must recognize that freedom to publish means nothing unless it is joined with the freedom to circulate. The value of the press is not that it puts down on paper certain facts and opinions to form a record, but that people read these facts and opinions. Any procedure which hinders the latter process must be considered in fact an infringement on the freedom of the press.

In the Driftway

F. J. SCHLINK, indefatigable discriminator and technical director of Consumers' Research, is hurt because the Drifter failed to mention that admirable and going concern when he held forth recently upon the shortcomings of razor blades and the complete breakdown of the staff of life. Mr. Schlink is hurt and the Drifter is sorry. In apology the Drifter will now turn the column over to Mr. Schlink, whose letter reads as follows:

> We were disappointed to discover from your column of February 25 that you are clearly unaware of the existence of Consumers' Research. I trust we may be pardoned for our disappointment that a magazine like *The Nation,* which should be among the first to know about an effective cooperative activity of 14,000 ultimate consumers in educating themselves to cope with the complexities of the modern market, should have been out of touch with this development, which is well known to a rather large proportion of your readers, since our subscribers and your readers come from pretty much the same social and intellectual classes.
>
> It would be hard to quarrel with your caustic criticism of customary goods, but it is nevertheless true that if you wish to know where good razor blades are made and by whom sold, you can do so with very little trouble. Even on coffee we can give you an array of numerical measures of quality that really mean something, and in regard to which not a single manufacturer has ventured to offer a criticism or correction. It is, of course, only an accident, but it turns out that we have useful and available information upon every item which you mention in your article with the exception of bread, and even on that a little can be done. If you very much want good bread and can arrange to have it baked to order, you can do so by availing yourself of some quite definite and critical data on the flour from which it might best be made. The last paragraph of your column might well be rewritten thus:
>
> As for weapons in his crusade, the Drifter knows of only one effective blade — discrimination—and that is

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wielded by but a single organization—Consumers' Research. Unfortunately, critical judgment by consumers has been so deeply buried in this democracy of ours under the weight of snob advertising that a long period of testing and encouragement will be required before the fight is on anything like even terms. Consumers' Research has rescued discrimination—long known in some of its forms as sales resistance and considered subtly unpatriotic—and set it to work. Given time and a sufficient number of consumers who care a tinker's dam about what they eat and wear and use, we may have bread instead of paper pulp, and steel instead of advertising copy in our razor blades.

* * * * *

THE Drifter accepts the emendations. He does more. He urges every disciple of discrimination to subscribe to the publications of Consumers' Research. (The address is 340 West Twenty-third Street, New York.) Its monthly broadsides are not only useful for their information; as literature they have the output of any book club backed off the library table. They mention names without fear or favor. Opposite each the truth is set down in cold print. And it is strange but true that the "lowdown" on the products which occupy the highest-priced space in our most fashionable magazines can be just as exciting as the "inside dope" on the celebrity of the moment. Only the other day the Drifter met a friend of his, a tired intellectual, whose eyes were shining as they had not shone since "Ulysses" was published. "What is it?" asked the Drifter, expecting nothing less than the news of a new literary genius. "Have you seen," questioned the tired intellectual, "have you ever seen the booklet of Consumers' Research?"

The Drifter

Correspondence

We Also Became Librarians

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your recent contributor in I Became a Librarian gives us something of the wistful wonder that we feel in reading—if we still can—"St. Elmo" or "Elsie Dinsmore." So much of the gentility that during its earlier years hovered over librarianship came through the easy entrance into libraries of those who, like your contributor, were "casting about rather aimlessly for a career." In her enjoyment of literary delicacies, she declares, she lacked all desire "to dish them up to others." Fortunately, better organization of libraries, more thorough training, and spirited personnel officers have almost prevented the admission of the drooping genteel female who seeks a supposedly easy berth because she has always been "such a bookworm."

Lutie E. Stearns was about that time rampaging up and down the State of Wisconsin in her famous bearskin coat, storming at legislators until they made some provision for books for farm wives. It may have been a bit later that Anne Wallace was building up the Atlanta Public Library with an unquenchable vivacity and a perseverance that brought her to New York to besiege Mr. Andrew Carnegie until he succumbed and gave Atlanta a proper library. Sarah Askew was and is still giving books and a good time to New Jersey and refusing to regard the "Silence" sign that town boards like to hoist when library budgets are insisted upon. Eliza Willard was putting her rare gifts of learning, humor, and exquisite understanding at the service of all the eager and awkward young men and women of Pittsburgh who sought her out. Anne Carroll Moore in New York was brushing out with a relentless broom the musty remains of Sunday School libraries that had been good enough for children until Miss Hewins of Hartford insisted in no still, small voice that cast-off books and colorless women would not do. Mary E. Plummer was developing a library school in Brooklyn to train men and women for a broadening and changing profession.

Your contributor's experience was evidently entirely with women, so that she had no contact with some of the scholarly and charming, and even practical, men in the profession. But how unfortunate that Miss Auer seems not to have encountered a single one of the vivid women who refused to accept libraries as they found them.

New York, February 26 Esther Johnston

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I have read the article I Became a Librarian with considerable surprise and amusement: surprise that only partially true observations evidently made a number of years ago should be accepted as fact today; and amusement that anyone should believe that the lot of the librarian is as pathetic as it is there pictured.

Thanks to the work of the American Library Association and the efforts of individual librarians, library salaries have been, or are on the way to being, raised to meet increasingly high standards of training for librarianship. The day is past when "a love of books" qualifies its possessor for a position in a library. The beginning librarian today is a college graduate, frequently further qualified by graduate study in a library school, and her salary indicates a recognition of her qualifications.

She is not oppressed by a maze of detail and routine tasks, for in the modern library details have been reduced to a minimum and routine has been lightened by the adoption of practically all of the mechanical devices known to business, with the addition of others, such as the charging machine, designed especially to meet the needs of libraries.

Nor is she a slow-paced worker inured to boredom in a convent-like atmosphere. The public library is a busy place these days. It is a vital part of the community and reflects the heightened tempo of the age. It is an educational institution supplementary to the public-school system, and continuing beyond it into the field of adult education. Its crowded lobbies and special rooms are no place for the quiet personality who shrinks from the public gaze. The modern librarian is one of the most observed of public servants, and is known to a large proportion of her community, not only through her contacts with them inside the library, where as readers' adviser she helps those who rely upon her expert knowledge, but outside the walls as well, for she frequently appears before civic and literary groups as a speaker.

She is no more bound by rules and tradition than are doctors, lawyers, ministers, or teachers. Exceptions are as freely honored in the library as elsewhere. As for the responsibility of using her judgment, she is under the necessity of making instant decisions many times a day, and if they lead her to consult more mature experience and authority the fact is no reflection on her judgment or the power given her for its use.

She is under no restrictions as to the expression of her opinion. Most libraries conduct some form of staff assembly which is an open forum for the exchange of ideas. Originality counts here as elsewhere, and few really able junior librarians remain an unreasonably long time in subordinate positions.

To say that librarians read less than any other professional group is to make a broad statement not well founded. Admittedly the librarian is "a lover of books." In nine cases out of

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ten she comes from a home and school environment where the reading of the classics and the best of current literature is a matter of course. She cannot continue long in her chosen work without a pretty intimate knowledge of the tools of her profession—books. If she does not read because she wants to, she reads because she has to. At any rate she reads—and her reading often includes *The Nation*.

MATHILDE D. WILLIAMS

Washington, D. C., February 28

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The members of the staff of our library have been both amused and irritated by the article in your issue of February 25, I Became a Librarian. We are amused by the picture of the foibles of the librarian who is now as obsolete as the country doctor who carried his potions in saddle bags as he went from patient to patient. And we are irritated to find *The Nation* printing so false and out-of-date an article.

She who became a librarian because it seemed the line of least resistance seems quite uninformed as to what has happened in the library profession in "the length of years which lie between the library and myself." No longer are "quiet, quiescence, and acquiescence . . . the triune principle of the library order." Rather, we find alert sympathy with the needs of the readers, resourcefulness to meet these needs, and joy (frequent merry laughs) in the service.

If you are skeptical of this picture of the librarian of today, we invite you to drop into *our* library almost any day.

THE STAFF OF THE KALAMAZOO PUBLIC LIBRARY

Kalamazoo, Mich., March 1

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Whatever the gay nineties were gay in, it was not libraries, if we are to judge from Miss Auer's article in *The Nation* of February 25. Since, to use her own words, "only the length of years which lie between the library and myself gives me the temerity to speak of the librarian," she should be enlightened. The library of today is no more like the one in the nineties than the lines of a modern skyscraper are like those of one of that period. In the first place, the library does not want and will not take a person who applies for a position merely because she has no other resources to fall back on. She must be fully trained for her job.

No librarian has time to sit down for a "heart-to-heart talk" about the Dewey System of Classification with green young things who have been shunted to her from other fields of activity. A would-be assistant must learn the trade before she goes into it. As Miss Auer admitted toward the end of her article, educational qualifications have advanced.

There are plodders in every profession. There are still some in the library. But the race is thinning out. There is routine. In every efficient business there is routine. And there are details. A modern librarian acknowledges all of them, masters them, and uses them automatically as her library technique. She knows also that a ship at sea would flounder without rules. Likewise in a library, with perhaps fifteen assistants dealing with a public several thousand strong, there would be chaos without rules.

The modern librarian has evidently made strides in her reading habits. In Miss Auer's time her aim was "to read the reviews of books, rather than the books themselves." Today it is to read the reviews of books, certainly, but also to read the books. Many librarians require intelligent book reviews at *each* staff meeting. A glance at a list of books read by the staff members in their own time shows—besides fiction—travel, literature, sociology, history, art. Many of the assistants are taking courses after hours. A casual questioning in a New York library the other day found one assistant studying etching at the Art Students' League. Another was taking Robert Frost's poetry course at the New School for Social Research. Another was studying political science at Columbia. Still another was planning to study sculpture at the De Medici school on the East River. Most of them go to the theater and many to opera. An astounding number spend their vacations in Europe.

I assure you, the librarian of today has little in common with the "subdued, toned-down" sister of the gay nineties. And she resents, with all due respect to Miss Auer, being classed with her.

New York, March 6 LOIS CLARKE

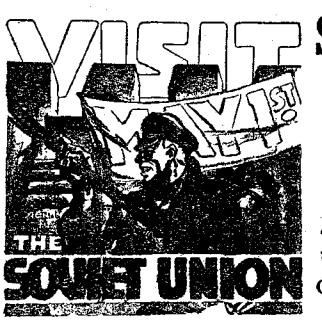
"Black No More"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Since Mr. Schuyler is abroad, I feel that I should reply to some of the statements made by Dorothy Van Doren in her review of "Black No More" in your issue of February 25. Mr. Schuyler did not, contrary to Mrs. Van Doren's opinion, write "Black No More" to show how his people had "betrayed their race," and he does not consider the average Negro any more primitive than the average white, but thinks them both equally childish, superstitious, and full of fantastic prejudices. "Black No More" was an attempt to expose the ridiculous, confused, and almost insane ramifications of the American color problem.

Mrs. Van Doren calls the book "white satire" and this apparently is intended to condemn the book and its author. It is rather surprising that well-read people still assume that there is such a thing as a distinct Negro literature. There is not, and never has been, such a thing as "racial" literature; there is only national or sectional literature. Skin coloring, hair, or features do not mold either character or thought, which are the products of environment. Otherwise, the Turk, the Armenian, and the Jew, all of the Semitic race, would worship and think alike. It is noteworthy that Disraeli acted like an Englishman, Karl Marx like a German, Trotzky like a Russian, and Rabbi Wise certainly thinks and acts like an American. Yet the Jew has a distinct language and religion, which the American Negro has not, to aid him in remaining differentiated. Dumas, of Negro extraction, wrote as a Frenchman; Pushkin as a Russian. Why expect the American Negro not to write like an American? The sooner the white liberal accepts the Negro for what he is, just a dark-skinned, more exploited American, and not for a simple, primitive, exotic being to be alternately pitied and patronized, the sooner the American color problem will be solved.

New York, March 19 JOSEPHINE SCHUYLER



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Books, Art, Music, Drama

Hour of the Lizard

By LESLIE NELSON JENNINGS

Now is the hour when yellow eyes relax
Their watchfulness and lizards bask unseen,
Wearing the color of dust upon their backs,
While a hawk sentinels the dry ravine.
The pulse of noonday pauses on a beat
Of panting somnolence, unroused by one
Poor ghost of shade that fled on burning feet—
Only the sky, the sagebrush, and the sun.

And if the lizard find another use
For this implacable, consuming hour,
Giving, for all his mask of sleep, no truce
To any midge below the cactus flower,
How can we think the desert sand would be
Less treacherous, less vigilant than he?

Is Folklore Literature?

Folk-Say: A Regional Miscellany. University of Oklahoma Press. $5.

THE first issue of the regional yearbook "Folk-Say" appeared in 1929. It ran approximately 150 pages, numbered among its contributors Stanley Vestal, J. Frank Dobie, George Milburn, Paul Horgan, and Maurice Kelley, and contained a significant essay on The New Regionalism by its editor, B. A. Botkin. Familiarity with this essay is really a prerequisite to an understanding of what Mr. Botkin hopes to accomplish with "Folk-Say." The 1930 issue represents a definite advance, in every respect, over the previous volume. It contains about 500 pages, is handsomely published, and includes many phases of its subject which were neglected in the first volume. Mr. Botkin again contributes an interesting introduction, in which he raises several important queries but is careful to leave them unanswered.

The volume is divided into seven sections, the contents of which, despite their poetic titles, might be said to correspond roughly with the divisions in any standard text on folklore. The Wind Rides By consists of adaptations from Indian sources by William Haskell Simpson, Ina Sizer Cassidy, and Leonora F. Curtin, together with a few desert poems by Norman Macleod. None of this work is successful. Macleod's verse is highly individual and represents a point of view antithetical to that espoused by Mr. Botkin; hence its inclusion seems rather fortuitous. The adaptations illustrate the difficulties inherent in such an experimental publication, difficulties which involve not only questions of folklore as such, but of ethnology, psychology, and anthropology as well. Most adaptations from Indian sources are unimpressive for the reason that they are so obviously adaptations; the forced effort to adopt the point of view of the Indian is so apparent as to dispel imaginative assent.

Old Timers contains some interesting folk tales, particularly a collection by Ross McLaury. These paragraphic yarns, told in the vernacular, are genuinely of the "folk." They are quite a cut above the stories of George Milburn, which are usually so highly spiced with Sinclair Lewis and Ring Lardner as to be unpalatable. In the same section an "old-timer," Frank Neff, relates a "tall tale" of the "health-bringin', cavortin', purairie winds" of west Texas that is an excellent specimen of the worth of folk material in the hands of an intelligent investigator.

One Foot in the Road heads another collection of folk yarns. A Song of the Pipeline, by Daniel M. Garrison, a report of the racy talk of a few loquacious pipeliners while joining one buckle of pipe, is an authentic piece of work; the identification of the author with his material is not that of the cold and practiced manipulator of folk material, but the easy and effortless rendering born of sympathy and imagination. In Flete, by S. Omar Barker, the basic folk substance is permitted to become rather tenuous in the telling, while H. L. Davis, for some inexplicable reason, struggles manfully to be mystical in a poem about a Threshing Crew Woman with a tattooed navel.

Many Voices represents the work of Christy MacKaye, Ruth Bass, Charles Morrow Wilson, Walter R. Smith, L. S. M. Curtin, Paul Horgan, Frank G. Applegate, and Arvia MacKaye. Of this group, Fern Seed—for Peace, by Ruth Bass, a remarkable yarn of the beliefs of a Negro herb doctor, is one of the notable contributions to the present volume. Any professional folklorist would be grateful for the plant lore woven into this story, yet it is redeemed from the scientific by the very human character of the old Negress. The fifth section of the volume is delivered over bodily to the folklorists, with riddles, folk songs, descriptions of the pioneer dances, and the Oklahoma Literary Society. Wide River contains "blues" by Sterling A. Brown, Waring Cuney, Lewis Alexander, and Langston Hughes, whose Ma Lawd is particularly effective.

In Folk Backgrounds Mr. Botkin drafts the theorists into service and attempts a rationale of the folk and regionalism with important contributions by Mary Austin, Alexander Haggerty Krappe, Barrett H. Clark, and Thomas Hornsby Ferril. Mr. Ferril's Rocky Mountain Metaphysics is a shrewd and penetrating article on the psychological difficulties with which the artist in the West must contend. To these contributors Mr. Botkin had propounded the query: "What (or who) is (or are) the 'folk' in America, and what can it (or they) contribute to American literature and language?" In addition to the considered articles on this question, there are special notes by Percy MacKaye, Louise Pound, Carl Sandburg, J. Frank Dobie, and Philip Stevenson; a large section on Genres and Media, with work by Sterling A. Brown, Alain Locke, and Frank Shay; and two excellent articles, The Speech of the Negro, and Folk Values in Recent Literature on the Negro, by Guy B. Johnson; while as Marginalia Henry Roth presents an interesting, if rather premature, article on Lynn Riggs and the Individual, and Maurice Kelley tracks down a legend in John Rollin Ridge and the Autochthonous in Poetry. There are also bibliographical notes and reviews of recent publications which have a folk or regional interest.

Mr. Botkin in his introductory comment suggests that the problem is not so much to define the "folk" and "folklore" as to determine what they can do for our culture and literature. Viewed from this standpoint, he thinks the matter can be reduced to three issues: (1) Can folk material be converted into literary art without losing its folk interest and value? (2) To what extent can the individual artist lose his self-consciousness in order to merge his individuality with that of the group? (3) What are the legitimate folk and artistic limitations upon the use, in this literature about the folk, of local allusions and traditions, local color, dialect, and the like? What is the proper ratio of character to background, of "pace" to character, and of universal to local elements in both character and background? His introduction ends with the hope that the book will stimulate the discussion of these problems.

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It must be admitted that the theoretical discussion of these questions in "Folk-Say" is inadequate. Some of the contributors do attempt definitions of the folk and of folklore, but they are almost uniformly silent on the question of what contributions the use of folk material can make to our culture and literature. Even their definitions are widely divergent; one learns, all in a single breath, that the American "folk" may be the Negro, the Indian, the Plain People, and that there is no such thing as an "American folk" or an "American folklore" and that the very terms are misnomers. The problem is, of course, related to the basic consideration: What is the relation between folklore and literature—is it a question of degree or of kind? Even the professional folklorists give various answers to this question. G. E. Gomme maintains that the folk tale may be lent on occasion to the artist, but that it does not belong to art but to science; that it is artistic in form is an addition to its characteristics but has nothing to do with its fundamental features. The same authority would have us believe that "survivals" in folk material have a purely scientific interest, and that there is, strictly speaking, no "continuity" between modern and primitive culture. Even partisans of the "literary school" insist that folklore is primarily a historical science and that any contribution that the use and study of folk material might make to literature and language would be incidental and collateral to its chief function, which is to fill certain vacuums created by the inadequacy of the purely historical method. One is impressed with the fact that the theoretical discussion of such a problem, from so varied a field of contributors, is apt to prove fruitless. Each views the matter from a special department of knowledge and with reference to a special experience, and each employs a vocabulary in which the terms all of them use are variously defined.

On the other hand, a reading of the folk material collected in the volume warrants certain conclusions that go far toward answering Mr. Botkin's question. It is quite apparent, regardless of how the matter may be theoretically phrased, that the method and attitude fostered by Mr. Botkin do bring forth significant creative work. If the American hinterland is ever to be redeemed from the twin evils of imported culture and cheap standardization, it will probably be by the diligent cultivation of such an attitude.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

An American Diplomat

Henry White. Thirty Years of American Diplomacy. By Allan Nevins. Harper and Brothers. $5.

THIS is an excellent biography, though its subtitle may be misleading, as our diplomatic history treated in it is only such history as White himself took part in. Professor Nevins was also ill-advised in making so much of Roosevelt's and Colonel House's exaggerated appraisals of White's importance. He is a bold historian who would take Roosevelt's impetuous appraisal of any man as final, and the Colonel's statement that White was the most accomplished diplomat America has ever produced is simply not so. Except for this unfortunate first page, the book is scholarly from beginning to end, and also readable. Of its 518 pages, the first 335 cover White's career as secretary of our embassy in London and as ambassador to Italy and France. The rest of the volume is concerned with White's service as a member of the Commission to Negotiate Peace after the end of the Great War, and it is this part that is most important and of most interest at present. The series of letters which passed between White and Senator Lodge, from which long quotations are given, are of special value. The author also sheds considerable light, or perhaps one should say casts considerable shadow on Colonel House, and explains the origin of the break between him and Wilson. Professor Nevins had access to all the White papers and other manuscript material, and has made a genuine contribution to history for the scholar as well as an entertaining book for the general reader. It is the best book he has yet written. It is thoroughly impartial, although sympathetic. As we follow White through his entire career, he grows into much more of a man than he has been popularly considered. On the other hand, even after Nevins has done his best for him, it is a little hard to see how at London, Rome, or Paris he should be considered the ablest diplomat in our history, though he was undoubtedly an able and serviceable one. The only valid criticism against the author might be—and it is made because more and more is coming to be expected of him—that he does not make his subject live for us in one of the aspects most stressed, as "the most lovable of men." Undoubtedly White *was* lovable—so many different people are so quoted by Nevins. But in a perfect biography White would have been so built up in the pages as to appear directly and irresistibly lovable to *us*. Perhaps this is hypercriticism of a book which in almost all respects deserves such hearty praise.

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS

Wordsworth's Great Decade

Wordsworth. The Clark Lectures, 1929-1930. By Herbert Read. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. $3.

Wordsworth. By C. H. Herford. The Republic of Letters. E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.

THE reputation of Wordsworth, which seemed at one time to have reached its peak in Wordsworth's own century, seems now to be climbing toward another peak—one much higher, and certainly more exciting. The man who could be worshiped then as a poet and prophet has come to be admired merely as a poet. The artist with a valuable message stands before us now quite naked as an artist, and his value is seen to consist in his art.

As evidence of this I take not merely the fact that both Mr. Read and Professor Herford—the first a distinguished poet and critic and the second a distinguished literary historian—assign a high rank to Wordsworth, Mr. Read placing him in at least one respect just after Shakespeare and Professor Herford declining to deny him the position often given him this side of Milton. I take rather the fact that both authors catch fire with the wish to explain his marvelous excellence during the ten years when he was excellent at all. For Wordsworth, although he lived from 1770 to 1850, wrote practically all of his important poetry between 1797 and 1807. Before that decade he was not kindled; after it he was cold. It is a nice problem, explaining such a phenomenon. But what impresses me is the excitement generated in any imaginative person who studies the documents involved. Here is a great story to be told about a great man.

H. W. Garrod, who made Wordsworth the subject of his brilliant lectures as Professor of Poetry at Oxford in 1919, had a very simple explanation for the phenomenon in question—the influence of Coleridge. Mr. Read, while recognizing that influence, rejects it as an explanation, preferring to say of Wordsworth that he was a man of tremendous emotions who repressed those emotions throughout all of his years except the famous ten. Mr. Read stresses the significance of Wordsworth's revolutionary period and of his natural daughter, whose birth falls within that period. Not that he wrote his great poetry then. He wrote it, says Mr. Read, in the attempt a little later to conquer the memory of a too violent experience. The conquest was difficult and absorbed the whole—including

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the intellectual—man. Hence the great poetry, since the whole man happened to be a great poet. But the battle was soon over, and afterwards we have only the imitation of the whole man by a relatively insignificant part of him.

Mr. Read's explanation, incomplete as it probably is, interests me more than Professor Herford's does. Professor Herford, true to his profession, is eclectic and sane. He canvasses all the theories and maintains a wholesome skepticism toward them all. His attempt is to be comprehensive about Wordsworth, and his success is considerable. But I prefer the somewhat fanatical narrowness of Mr. Read, who may be wrong about Wordsworth but who cannot help hinting behind every word he speaks that Wordsworth is one of the most interesting poets—and persons—who ever lived. In addition to this Mr. Read has rendered the best account so far, it seems to me, of Wordsworth's "philosophy." The disciples of 1840 overrated it. Matthew Arnold underrated it. Mr. Read quite plausibly places it where it belongs, at the dead center of Wordsworth's emotional career. It was "felt thought," says Mr. Read, and I can imagine no better phrase for it.

MARK VAN DOREN

Concerning the Negro

Negro. National Asset or Liability? By John Louis Hill. Literary Associates, Inc. $2.

The Negro Wage Earner. By Lorenzo J. Greene and Carter G. Woodson. Washington: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. $3.25.

The Black Worker. By Sterling E. Spero and Abram L. Harris. Columbia University Press. $4.50.

THESE three books represent three different stages in the discussion of the Negro problem in the United States, of which the last is by far the most significant. The first book is an emotional tract, well-meaning, full of trite platitudes, but quite suited to the comprehension of the average American. The second is an encyclopedia of Negro occupations, especially between the years 1890 and 1920. It is crammed with figures but is naturally difficult to read. The third is one of the first attempts in the economic field to make a synthesis of the labor movement and the Negro problem so as to interpret each in the light of the other and show them to be one question of American economics.

John Louis Hill is a Southern white man who has written a number of books on racial contacts, and perhaps the personal equation as revealed in this book is its most interesting contribution. He says that his attitude toward Negroes has experienced three separate and distinct steps: first, as a born Southerner he endured Negroes and regarded them as useful "in their place"; then, moving North, he became very sympathetic toward the Negro; he wanted to help him. Finally, however, he passed beyond that point and sought to regard Negroes solely as men and women, no better or worse "than men and women of other races limited by the same opportunities and laboring under the same handicaps." His book is not intrinsically important or new, but it does tell a straight story of racial attitudes with a clear belief in the common humanity of Americans and the possibility of the Negro being fully received into American citizenship. The average reader will probably get more out of this book than out of either of the other two.

The "Negro Wage Earner" is the first product of a three-year survey of social and economic conditions of the Negroes in the United States made by the Association for Negro Life and History, and its purpose is to show the various occupations in which Negroes have been employed, with the increase or decrease of their numbers in each. It suffers, as such works are likely to, from the very exactitude of its detail and from the fact that the editors have not helped the ordinary reader quite enough in selecting and emphasizing the significant facts. Its importance, however, rests upon its wide use of original sources and its careful references, and there are summaries here and there that are significant. The final summary on page 345 is worth quoting:

> We have these conclusions concerning Negroes in occupations since 1890:
>
> First, is the tendency of the Negroes to constitute a greater percentage of all persons gainfully occupied than of the total population; secondly, the tendency to maintain since 1890 a higher proportion of persons gainfully employed within their group than any other large element of the population; thirdly, the participation relatively of a greater number of Negro females in occupations than the females of any other group in the population. Interwoven, however, throughout all these tendencies, yet affecting and overshadowing them all, is a more significant movement —a tremendous, irresistible, though irregular march away from employment in agricultural pursuits and domestic and personal service toward manufacturing and mechanical pursuits and trade and transportation. It was this later tendency, attaining its highest point between 1914 and 1920, which decidedly changed the aspect of Negroes in occupations, wrought a greater equilibration in their employments, stamped them as efficient industrial workers, caused the transplanting of over a million Negroes to the North, and thus greatly altered the entire social structure of a large part of the Negro population.

The significance of Spero and Harris's book lies in the fact that it abandons the conventional attempt to study the Negro *in vacuo* just as though the black population of America were entirely segregated from its surroundings or at least could be so regarded for purposes of study. Spero and Harris are studying the Negro as part of the modern labor movement and studying the labor movement as it is exemplified and affected by the freed American slave.

There is a short study of the relation of black and white workers during the slave regime. Then the rise of trade unionism is followed: half-hearted attempts to include the freed Negro in this movement resulted in the building up of white craft unionism, largely excluding Negro workers, and the development of a colored group-consciousness which tried to advance without reference to the great cleft between employer and employee as exemplified in the white world.

The World War marked a turning-point in this development. The Negro took the place of the white immigrant as the great labor reserve. He was brought into industry. Before this he had been a miner; now he became a steel worker, a worker in the stockyards, a worker on the railroads. And yet he remained very largely excluded from the main labor-union movement.

What is the future development of the labor movement in the United States, particularly among Negro laborers? There are two proposals: one is the ideal of an independent black economy within the confines of the white. This ideal is a living force, and yet how can it survive as long as the white world controls credit and basic industry and is the dominant force in the state? It will have to be the gift of white philanthropy, and, as such, at the mercy of white philanthropy. On the other hand:

> A labor movement built upon the principle of working-class unity would of course take the Negro into its ranks and fight to raise the general standard. Self-protection alone should dictate such a course. But the white worker, sharing the prejudices of the rest of the white world, balks at the bugaboo of "social equality" and persists in relegating the black laborer to a place of permanent inferiority.

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> But side by side with all these forces are tendencies in other directions which in time may destroy their potency. Most important is the machine, which is rapidly changing the meaning of skill and obliterating old craft lines. The machine, rather than any concept of working-class unity or industrial brotherhood, will compel the official labor movement to change its structure and policy if it is not to degenerate into a mere social relic. Ultimately, this will probably redound to the Negro's benefit, but during transitional stages technical changes which reduce the personnel will hurt him along with other workers.

The book is, on the whole, the most thought-awakening of recent publications on the Negro and points to interests and new developments along the color line. Especially does it pave the way for a new consideration of the Negro, not as a group apart, but as a group of millions affecting the economic and social development of America and affecting it to such an extent that no complete picture of America can be made without considering it.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Narrative Poetry

The Serpent in the Cloud. By Theodore Morrison. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.

OF the comparatively few poems that Mr. Morrison has published in the magazines in the last six or seven years it could be said that they were excellent in the way that he presumably wanted them to be excellent. "The Serpent in the Cloud" is a different matter. Quite unpredictably he has written a long narrative poem involving the realistic treatment of a dilemma of the scientific age. On its weaker side, the poem is, as Mr. Morrison's other work has never been, awkward and almost amateurish; but on its stronger side it has virtues previously unsuspected and a distinction hardly to have been anticipated.

The general structure of the story is to be counted as a major source of its strength. In telling this story of Bruce Herrick, of his love for Rose Leighton, of his fear lest a strain of insanity in his family forbid their marriage, of her device for banishing his fear, and of the effect of that device, Morrison has built his narrative solidly, presenting his characters clearly, selecting and ordering his incidents with the hand of a craftsman, and achieving a climax that avoids both melodrama and platitudinous philosophy. Though at times he shifts his point of view without the justification that the practiced novelist might demand, and though occasionally he introduces passages that serve only a decorative purpose, he on the whole conducts his narrative with a sureness and economy of method that, judging the poem as one would judge a piece of prose fiction, one finds altogether admirable.

All this is important because many narrative poems fail so completely as narratives that such poetic virtues as they may have seem almost irrelevant. But sound narrative is obviously not enough, and certainly it is not all that one finds in Morrison's poem. Two qualities are worth special notice. In the first place, many passages reach through simplicity and dignity a certain kind of fineness. And in the second place, there are a few passages, such as the following, whose original figures of speech suggest a rich poetic endowment:

> Bruce halted, and suddenly his voice began
> To speak as one who has been hypnotized.
> She strained to catch these modeled forms of air
> Launched from his teeth like ships to bear their freight
> Across the unseen vibratory waves
> To her mind's port. Strange that the ether could
> So bend to the sculpture of his lips, and carry
> The shape of the heart's fear and passion!

But certainly it cannot be said that the whole poem is on so successful a level, nor even that there is any one level on which all of it moves. Edwin Arlington Robinson—of whose work "The Serpent in the Cloud" contains, all things considered, surprisingly few echoes—moves from the less to the more emotional moments without, in any of his better poems, losing the essential unity of tone. Robinson Jeffers, less skilful at transitions, often achieves a kind of unity by forcing the tone of every portion of a poem up to the level of the most intense episode. Morrison's poem abruptly rises and abruptly falls, now stumbling under the burden of a flat and unconnotative vocabulary, now moving smoothly and gracefully; now lurching through awkward circumlocutions, now soaring with power and exaltation.

The poem also suffers from the kind of reticence that presumably lay behind the gentleness of Mr. Morrison's earlier work. The theme demands that the love between the hero and the heroine be considerably more human than the passion that might be suitably commemorated in a delicate sonnet. The passage about the lord of life is rather fine in itself, but unfortunately it is also, in view of the nature of the poem, a seriously detrimental evasion. If "The Serpent in the Cloud" indicates, as I hope it does, the path Mr. Morrison is to take, he not only has technical problems to solve, but also certain problems involving more personal elements in the relation between the poet and his materials. That he should solve these problems now, for perhaps the first time, seems important.

Granville Hicks

Books in Brief

The White Paternoster and Other Stories. By T. F. Powys. The Viking Press. $2.50.

Mr. T. F. Powys is one of the most thoroughly delightful writers alive. This book is perhaps not so bland as "Kindness in a Corner" or so penetrating as "Mr. Weston's Good Wine." But, like them, it tastes of the earth, it is filled with the innocence of man, with his follies, with his almost unbearable goodness and equally unbearable brutishness. And as in the other books, here is a small corner of England illuminated with the utmost skill, the terrain and the speech made familiar to us, the taste of the food brought to our mouths, the bouquet of the wine, the smell of the beer sharp and fresh. Nothing is shocking to Mr. Powys, nothing is so lovely as to be strange. Except for an occasional too obvious use of the supernatural, here is a book that is completely what it tries to be. There could hardly be higher praise.

Mackerel Sky. By Helen Ashton. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.

"Mackerel Sky" is not so unusual or important a novel as was "Dr. Serocold," by the same author. But the same clean-cut virtues are there. The characters stand out clearly, economically but surely etched against the background; the dialogue is accurate and shows deftness in selection; the problem is intelligently chosen and intelligently carried through. There is good craftsmanship and good sense in this study of the married life of two modern young people passing through quite recognizable difficulties, and there is something more. The magic of story-telling does creep in, though one would be at a loss to discover how and where.

Wide Open Town. By Myron Brinig. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50.

This is the second novel by a brilliant young American writer who will bear watching for the freshness and resource-

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fulness of his style and the richness of his insight into his chosen characters. "Singermann" was an unusual first novel. Its successor, the present volume, is perhaps the best novel yet written of a wide-open Rocky Mountain mining city before the war. Mr. Brinig brings a fresh approach, an approach which does not avoid or rationalize the lurid, the melodramatic, the cheaply emotional, but which, on the other hand, never loses sight of the relative importance in place and time and human destiny of the little melodrama which he is bringing to us. He lets us sense the paradoxical fact that the people in this Montana town are at the same time both unimportant and tremendously important.

East of the Hudson. By J. Brooks Atkinson. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

The dramatic critic of the New York *Times* has here collected a group of extraordinarily diverse little essays which lead us from old Park Row, through curious streets, to Greenwich Village, Times Square, to city parks, and from there out into the wilds of Long Island and Westchester. Mr. Atkinson's piece on the theater called Buffoons, treating of Lillie, Cook, Wynn, and the Marxes, is highly polished, but seems labored—not so good as the pieces one may read every day in the *Times*. He has written better on the New York Chinese and Yiddish theaters. For while he views these last more or less serious efforts with amusement and writes of them entertainingly if a bit superciliously, he approaches his Broadway clowns with a portentous seriousness that leaves them less amusing than we had always thought them. The nature studies are pleasant, some of them delightful. Mr. Atkinson is probably, though he denies it, an excellent amateur ornithologist. His best pieces in this volume are about birds—birds that visit the city and birds he has happened upon within a radius of fifty miles of it. But Mr. Atkinson cannot fool anybody. He is no country man. An old hermit who "looked as though he had not bathed for a year" makes our fastidious urban essayist shudder.

The International Mandates. By Aaron M. Margalith. The Johns Hopkins Press. $2.50.

Dr. Margalith's book, the first part of a projected larger work, is not properly to be compared with the elaborate study of the mandate system lately published by Professor Quincy Wright, since it is limited in the main to an inquiry into the nature of a mandate and an examination of certain legal and administrative questions which the mandate system involves. The author reviews the historical background of the system and the making of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, describes some of the factors in mandate administration, and discusses the terms of the mandates and their interpretation of the three classes of mandated territory. Two chapters are devoted to the question of sovereignty and other legal issues. Dr. Margalith concludes that while the system is a delicate one to manage, it would be improved in practice if the powers of the Permanent Mandates Commission were enlarged, particularly so as to allow it to hear petitioners or visit a mandated territory, and that a determination of the seat of sovereignty is of primary importance. He sees no prospective "change, loss, transfer, or annexation of any territory in any category" in any near future save where a mandated area may reach the stage of development which would secure for it admission to the League.

La Seule Issue. Par Lucien Lehman. Paris: Maisonneuve Frères. 15 francs.

M. Lehman is the author of the pessimistic volume "Le Grand Mirage—U. S. A.," which attracted considerable attention last year. He is a man of information and of ideals. His

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Art

After the O'Keeffe Show

HOW much time must still elapse before the achievement of the Stieglitz group of painters and photographers is generally appreciated? It has been before us in its stark originality for many years, and show after show and season after season have magnified its importance. One would have thought it plain to the point of obviousness at the O'Keeffe exhibition which has just closed: it remains wonderful that there at last America did not recognize that under its star-pointing nose an advance in the plastic arts second to none in the contemporary world had been effected by the members of this solid New York group.

The majestic paintings lustrous upon the walls of An American Place all February added another link to a chain of pure manipulations of the artistic media and approaches to art completely objectified. Not that Georgia O'Keeffe has ever been anything but an out-and-out colorist; or that her peculiarly intense sense of life has ever taken form as anything but a subtle dialectic of hue, shape, and texture: plastic antitheses generating syntheses: an original dialectic emotionally created, not intellectually invented. From the beginning of her meteoric career this extraordinary girl has been giving us paintings elevated in their immediate, daring, and harmonious relations of the elements of the spectrum to each other and to pure white; their fresh, breath-taking, positive juxtapositions of complexly varied chords and tones. Few of her fellows have achieved such lyrical combinations of extreme opposites; few have raced the gamut of a single color from intensest cold to intensest heat with equal rapidity and in areas as small as hers. The oppositions have invariably been subtle, implied rather than bold. Instead of obvious counterpoints, of complementary hues and hot and cold tones, her canvases have exhibited oppositions of warm triads of tones, or of cool ones. Oblique, tart harmonies and juxtapositions of proximate tones and shades of the same color are frequent. These close harmonies are none the less rugged. Nor have O'Keeffe's rapid scales made sacrifice of subtlety. Her most exquisite gradations have been distinct and pure; and even her tiniest forms have the rotundity obtained by other painters only in larger volumes.

The antitheses of textures and of lines and shapes match the coloristic ones in mixed boldness and subtlety. Heavily varnished passages nimbly complement blotting-paper-like segments, and severe, harsh shapes and lines strangely sensitive and flowery ones. What, however, even before the recent show, was always most striking in this painting was the decisiveness, the rapid and unfaltering precision. O'Keeffe's color actually had an edge like a line's, a nicety like that of fine machine-cut products: no painting seemed purer. Hence the spaciousness of even the smaller of O'Keeffe's canvases, the intense volumes taking on a value, a dynamism, disproportionate to their actual dimensions.

Nevertheless, the recent show revealed a new level of achievement. An emotionally kindled technique has reached a kind of perfection at the hands of matured ability. The mar-

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velous antitheses and interfusions of color, of the sensual and the spiritual, the almost material and the quick in shape and line and rhythm, are if anything more definite in these new paintings: the rhythms if anything more majestic and broad. But a new detachment has evidently permitted the painter to control her medium and conceive her paintings more completely than ever before in terms of the plastic problem. (It is significant that O'Keeffe's latest successes are chiefly mountain landscapes, great concepts of the impenetrable, the abiding, the impersonal.)

There is absolutely no "imitation" of nature in these singularly calm, simple, spacious Southwestern pictures, works of a veritable modern Fra Angelico or Suor Angelica. Strictly conceived as decorations, as possible spots upon a possible wall, they are actually nothing save manipulations and combinations of materials: rough-grained canvases and pigment plus emotion. The colored segments and planes appear mere strips of silken or woolly stuff laid and folded upon each other. Indeed, one can say that in these later reserved and glowing canvases of the painter the medium exists in its own right and for its own sake, as something dense, vibrant, delicious—a statement not at all incongruous with the fact that a large, serene, tragic, and enthusiastic feeling of life pervades the canvases. And while the far more intellectual inventions of Picasso and Matisse may seem to exceed O'Keeffe's work in power and complexity, this is certain: no contemporary handles oil paint more absolutely than she; or communicates therewith a feeling of life more ardent and more deep.

Again, it is incredible that this achievement of hers should have failed to illuminate once and for all the achievement of the illustrious group of which she is a member. In purifying and liberating the medium of color to the degree which we have seen, what has she done save accentuate the similar purification and liberation of their mediums effected by Stieglitz and Marin and Dove, under the leadership of Stieglitz himself? In making demands upon their artistic media never made before, all these people, indeed, have developed and broadened them, and shown their capacities beyond the dreams of the past. They are a group of explorers, inventors, originals, finders. The photographic process in the hands of Stieglitz had become a complete aesthetic medium, as able to express an inner world in a series of relationships as stone, tone, words, or any other means seized upon by man in his moments of lyricism. Marin has given absolute water color a body it has not had since the days of the great Chinese; and his wonderfully complete forms have a complexity and a romantic American spirit foreign to theirs. Dove likewise has conquered new territory, new effects for color, with his metallic and none the less surprisingly warm painting.

These are probably a group of universal people, automatically directed to black and white, water color, and pigment as means for the formal expression of their broad, intricate comprehension of creation: their expansion and refinement of their media flowing from the necessity they labor under.

Their feelings are extremely complex, involving extremely complex matters. The world they focus from their centers is fuller, swifter, a more dizzy relativity, than any that has previously existed; and the swiftness of process, the rapid scales and supersubtle gradations, the close and complex antitheses which characterize all their work, the small, powerful volumes, the high tempo and dizzy equilibrations are but the result of their need of finding equivalents for a whirling, abyssal reality in the limits of small spaces.

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Music

If the Metropolitan Should Go Musical

AFTER the events of the past few weeks, to point out the faults of the Metropolitan Opera management is like shooting at a barn door. The trouble is that the Metropolitan is so wide a target that no one bothers to shoot at it any more. Its singers and its conductors call forth individual critical condemnation—often for lacks that are inherent in them and that they can in no way remedy. But the sins of the Metropolitan are not at all inherent or inevitable—other opera houses avoid many or all of them. They are to be attributed to timid, tasteless, and inept management: timid and inept in the choice of works and often of artists; tasteless and inept in the production of the works chosen.

It does not take second sight, for example, to see that Alban Berg's "Wozzeck," for which several hundred New Yorkers had to journey to Philadelphia the other night, cannot be kept off the Metropolitan stage forever, even though, like "Pelléas" before it, it may be long delayed. It has been playing successfully in Berlin for seven years or so. It has been repeatedly proclaimed a milestone in operatic and musical history by everyone who has heard it. One needs hardly more than a glance at its vivid libretto to suspect the power of the work; hardly more than a glimpse of its bewildering piano score to realize that, whatever else may be said of it, it is a work strikingly different from any that one knows; hardly any imagination to guess at what possibilities it offers for striking visual effects. To tell the truth, one can know very little more than these things about it before one has witnessed a performance; but even that opportunity has been waiting for anyone from Broadway and Fortieth Street who cared to visit Unter den Linden or any of a dozen other German opera houses. Nor, if in those houses it had a fraction of the power it had in the excellent Philadelphia performance, could even an opera scout easily have remained unstirred.

After that performance one wondered who at the Metropolitan, with all its galaxies, could have taken part in it. Mr. Stokowski—of whom I am not ordinarily an admirer—need not fear that the authority and imagination he brought to it will soon be equaled. Miss Ann Roselle will never feel uncomfortable listening to a Metropolitan Marie. Nor need Messrs. Ivantzoff, Radamsky, and the rest fear the competition of a cast of their more expensive colleagues.

The Metropolitan neither considers itself nor apparently wishes to be considered primarily a musical institution. The accounts of the première of "Peter Ibbetson" looked like stories of the Beaux-Arts ball. Mr. Downes's comment on the music was lost under columns of type about the brilliance of the audience. "Vast Audience Deeply Moved and Some Weep" was one of the headlines for which the *Times* reserved page 1, column 1. Nobody seemed to care whether it was a good opera or not except Mr. Walter Damrosch. He, being himself the composer of a similarly American opera, "Cyrano de Bergerac," took indignant exception to Mr. Lawrence Gilman's very mild statement that while "Peter Ibbetson" was neither unpleasant nor unskilful it was not quite a good or an important opera. Never having seen "Peter Ibbetson" as a play I do not know whether in that form it is as silly as in the current version. The latter contains some amiable and well-written music, and as an opera written in America was perhaps entitled to the very good performance it received.

But to produce "The Fair of Sorotchintzy," of which only

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portions are by Moussorgsky, when "Khovantchina," a work of much greater importance and musical value, and one completed—except for the orchestration—by the composer himself, was available, was one of the Metropolitan's characteristic missteps. The Philadelphia company gave "Khovantchina" its America première a season or two ago, but in New York it remained for a company assembled for the occasion to show us how bad a choice the "Fair" had been. For "Khovantchina," as this Russkaya Opera Company gave it, with an inadequate orchestra and an uneven cast, is a moving work despite its dramatic incoherence; while the "Fair" leaves the impression of a potpourri of familiar Moussorgsky tunes.

If the Metropolitan should ever go musical—which, in view of the box-office success it enjoys under its present management, is an extremely unlikely event—it could learn much from less opulent institutions: young ones like the Philadelphia, old and poor ones like the Comique, vigorous and bold ones like a dozen in Germany and Austria. It could learn by going no farther than Fifty-fifth Street, where a German Grand Opera Company has been giving very creditable performances, that Melchior is not the only acceptable Wagnerian tenor, nor Bodanzky the only conductor. It could learn that Weber, Gluck, and Handel were of more than historical importance; that before "Luisa Miller" there was "Orfeo"; that Fauré's "Pénélope" and Massenet's "Jongleur" are better works than Mascagni's "Iris," and "Dido and Aeneas" than "Romeo and Juliet"; that Mozart wrote more than one opera, and that at least five of them are good shows; that Ravel's "L'Enfant et les Sortilèges" would be a better curtain-raiser than Lattuada's "Preziose Ridicole"; that there are contemporary operas outside Italy, like Vaughan Williams's "Hugh the Drover," Roussel's "Padmavati," Pfitzner's "Palestrina," each as well worth trying as the "Sunken Bell."

It would learn that good music is better than bad, and simple and imaginative settings better than lavish and dull ones; that the aesthetic significance of an operatic performance is not necessarily in direct proportion to its box-office value; that some opera houses even sacrifice the latter on occasion; that applause is an art practiced better by amateurs than by professionals; that in some cities singers get along without applause for a whole act at a time; that an opera can be a success without curtain calls; that opera patrons can be made to arrive on time, and late-comers excluded until intermissions; and that comparatively little is added to the effectiveness of the first act of "Pelléas" by the punctuation of falling seats.

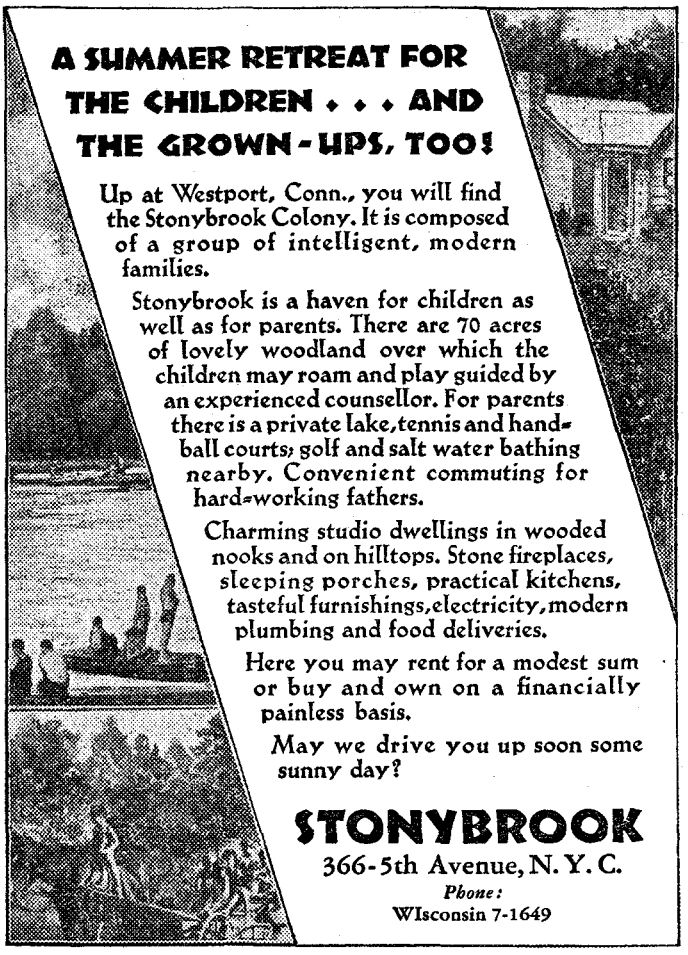
ARTHUR MENDEL

Drama

The Limits of Suspense

THE lean season of Lent came almost to its end last week, our starvation diet consisting merely of one play, and that a mystery melodrama. We were ushered toward Easter, in other words, by a piece about a murder. The incongruity of this will appear somewhat less glaring when it is said that "The Silent Witness" (Morosco Theater) tells the story of a father who chooses to be tried for a murder which his son has presumably committed. There is thus a sacrifice, or an attempt at one—the conclusion of the play being something which I shall not disclose. That is the code where mystery melodramas are concerned, and it is a good code.

For the only thing to be gained from this sort of play is a knowledge of how it ends. The whole effort of the author is to arouse and sustain our suspense. In the present case a



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pair of authors, Jack de Leon and Jack Celestin, turn the trick with unusual skill. Not only have they invented a novel situation, the situation of a man being tried for a murder which the audience knows he did not commit; they have written their lines with intelligence and intensity, and they have dispensed with much of the machinery that slows up the average thriller. The average thriller is too cumbersome to be thrilling, whereas "The Silent Witness" moves with all the neatness of a knife. There is the advantage also that Lionel Atwill as the father does a very fine piece of acting; so does Anthony Kemble-Cooper as his son, and so does Kay Strozzi as the bad woman who gets strangled.

But the limits of suspense as a device for capturing our attention are the more apparent the more successful a melodrama is. It is as if the play were whispering to us between the lines: "Wait! Wait! Something is coming that will be worth your while." The only trouble is that when it does come we gulp and swallow air. The discovery we make in the last few minutes is after all nothing but a discovery. Little in the earlier passages of the drama has served any other purpose than that of leading us up to this. Well, here we are; and our hands, not to speak of our minds, seem strangely empty. We have held our breath for two hours; now that we can breathe again, we simply go on breathing as if nothing had happened. And quite literally nothing has. I like mystery plays, but I must confess that I always leave them with a touch of that deep disappointment which comes in this imperfect world from one's having got exactly what one wanted.

I happened the same week to go again to see "Once in a Lifetime," and I must seize the occasion to say that I think it much the best play in New York this year. I have heard that it is not even being considered for the Pulitzer Prize—probably because the committee which decides such things feels that it is "merely funny." It is so perfect a piece of comedy, however, that I wish the committee could lose its seriousness for at least a season. And for that matter the play is deserving of the most serious consideration. There is genius in it of an extraordinarily opulent sort; the invention is great, and the dialogue, while free and full, is managed with a vicious economy. Furthermore, "Once in a Lifetime" is much more than a satire on Hollywood, since it leaves us delighted that such a thing as Hollywood exists. Like the best tragedy, the best comedy convinces us that the human race is glorious. Glorious in its folly, to be sure. But, then, the tragic hero is in some aspects a fool. And what is folly? We can never be sure about that. Yet a comedy like "Once in a Lifetime" leaves us in no doubt about the glory.

MARK VAN DOREN

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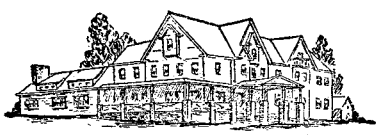

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Gandhi Counsels His Followers

WE print here the text of a speech delivered at New Delhi on February 20 by Mahatma Gandhi while his conversations with Lord Irwin were still in progress. The Bombay *Free Press Journal*, from which the address is reprinted, reports that more than 100,000 people heard Mr. Gandhi make his forceful restatement of devotion to the principle of non-violence. His principle and his leadership have since been overwhelmingly upheld by the Congress Party in convention at Karachi.

I know you are all anxious to hear something from me of the talks I am having with the Viceroy. I am afraid I may not take the public into confidence about what has happened between His Excellency and me . . . but I may say this much—that these talks have been conducted in a most friendly manner and with much sweetness. What will be the result I cannot say. The result is in the hands of God. It is His Will that will prevail. Your duty is that you must **continue to do what India expects of you.**

Dr. Ansari, belonging as he does to Delhi, has naturally spoken highly of the part played by Delhi, but I am witness to the great sacrifices that have been made throughout India. . . . Here, as elsewhere, the part played by women is indescribable. When the history of this movement comes to be written, the sacrifices made by the women of India will occupy the foremost place, and just as with women, so also with children. Their wonderful awakening has fortified me in my faith that God is with us in this struggle. These young folk had never been organized for such work, had never been trained for it. How they came to achieve all this, I have not been able to divine, nor has anyone else whom I have consulted been able to enlighten me as to who guided them. Only God could have done so, but remember in the second battle that whatever sacrifices you have made are trifling. Let them not puff you up with pride. What we want for India is purna swaraj, and who can calculate what further sacrifices India will have to make to achieve that goal! I assure you that I am doing as much as is humanly possible to bring about peace, so that people may not have to go through further suffering and sacrifices, but everything is in God's hands, and if it be not His Will that any understanding be arrived at, then I will have to tell the people that they must be ready for much further suffering. The sacrifices that we have made are as nothing be ide the sacrifices other nations have made for the sake of freedom. But there is a reason why we have not had to suffer as much as other nations. It is as clear to me as daylight.

The reason is that when we pledged ourselves to achieve purna swaraj, we also took the vow that whatever we did in attainment of the goal would be in consonance with truth and non-violence, and when I think of the part played by the whole of India, especially by the rural population, I think we have substantially fulfilled the pledge of truth and non-violence. But I cannot deceive myself, nor will I permit you to deceive yourselves. We have followed truth and non-violence, but we have not made them an article of faith. They have been to some a matter of policy, but even if you have accepted it only as a policy, you may not act or think in terms of violence. So long as you adhere to the policy, the very thought of untruth or violence is a breach of pledge. . . . I may tolerate the allegation that Indians are not fit for swaraj, but I could not for a moment tolerate the allegation, if it were true [*sic*], that my countrymen were untrue or dishonest. I cannot think of a greater tragedy than that those who believed in God were ungodly and guilty of breach of faith. Such people are not fit for freedom; they are fit for slavery and worse. For this reason I have always laid the greatest stress on the point that it was open to you to abandon the policy and adopt a different one, but so long as you pin your faith to truth and non-violence, do not deceive yourselves or the world. Therefore, when I heard that there had been some excesses on the part of our people in the picketing of foreign cloth, I was deeply pained. I have not been able to investigate the allegations, but you know that in 1921-22 I expiated for the excesses by suspending the movement. That sort of expiation is today out of the question. But I must say that wherever these excesses are going on they must stop.

It is better that dealers in foreign cloth should continue to sell it and those addicted to drink continue to drink than that we should resort to excesses in picketing. But there is another danger I wish to warn you against. If we take to these excesses, we shall be opening the door for self-destruction when we have swaraj, for there will then be no third power with machine-guns to intervene and restore peace. We shall be fighting one another and fratricidal war will spell destruction. If, therefore, you have the slightest apprehension in your mind that picketing cannot be done without resorting to excesses, you had better be done with it.

I want you to remember that I am an expert in these matters. I am sure we have in the past done considerable picketing without the slightest resort to violence. Do not be afraid that the moment we eschew the excesses our work will fall through. I would ask you not to worry. Rest assured that the man who is asking you today to keep to your moorings must have some alternative to suggest, but I shall not dwell on it today. I have received letters of complaint and I am making inquiries. It is possible that we have committed mistakes. I will ask all Congress workers to consider these carefully, and correct whatever mistakes we may have been guilty of. I appeal to you to eschew all excesses. You may like to know what I mean by excesses. I invite the curious to come to me for the explanation.

And now a word to the foreign-cloth dealers. Do not deceive yourselves or the country by thinking that you have done your duty by refraining from selling foreign cloth for a few months. This foreign-cloth trade must stop forever, because it is only by this means that we can promote the well-being of millions of our countrymen. I will respectfully submit to foreign-cloth dealers that complete boycott of foreign cloth is their dharma [religious duty]. Sacrifices they will have to make, but what are those sacrifices compared to the great sacrifices that are being made by other sections of the public?

Citizens of Delhi, I do not flatter myself that you have gathered here in your thousands to do honor to me. You have come to proclaim to the world that you are all determined to achieve purna swaraj. Let not my talks with the Viceroy worry you for a moment. Do not think of them, but go on with your work. Only remember that the result is not in my hands, not in the hands of Dr. Ansari or Pandit Malaviya, but in your hands. I am but an instrument and I am acting only as your humble ambassador. Everything will depend upon what you do and what you will fail to do. May God give you strength to keep the pledge of truth and non-violence.

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